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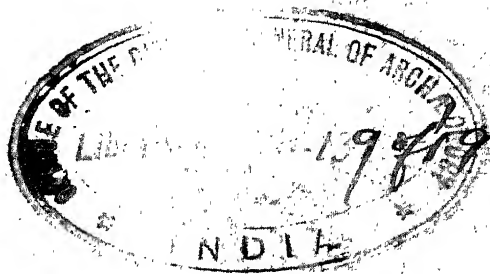
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# FOLK-LORE

*A QUARTERLY REVIEW*

OF

*MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM*

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

*And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW and  
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL*

VOL. XXIII.—1912

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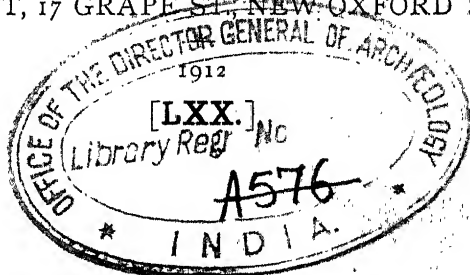
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## ERRATA.

- P. 140, l. 9, for *Cooke* read *Crooke*.  
 P. 152, n. 2, l. 2, for *lii.* (1900) read *vii.* (1909).  
 P. 178, l. 7, for *Metheis* read *Meitheis*.  
 P. 215, n. 27, for *xii.* read *xxii.*  
 P. 218, l. 32, for *Judje* read *Indje*.  
 P. 219, l. 20, for *Stróvitsi* read *Strovitsi*.  
 P. 255, l. 13, for *Sophie* read *Sophia*.  
 P. 268, l. 9, for *aelong* read *agelong*.

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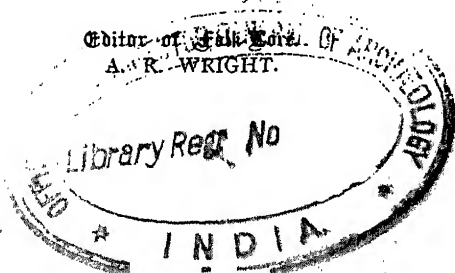
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  1910. Green, Miss F. Kirby, El Azib, Tangier, Morocco.
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- c. 1890. Haddon, Prof. A. C., D.Sc., F.R.S., Inisfail, Hills Road, Cambridge (*Vice-President*).
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- 1898. March, H. Colley, Esq., M.D., Portesham, Dorchester.
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- 1892. Masson, Sir D. P., Managing Director, The Punjab Bank, Lahore,  
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- 1889. Matthews, Miss E., Raymead, Park Road, Watford.
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- 1892. Olrik, Dr. Axel, 174 Gl. Kongevej, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- c. 1910. O'May, J., Esq., Kuala Kansar, viâ Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay  
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- 1911. Partridge, Miss J. B., Wellfield, Minchinhampton, Glos.
- 1892. Paton, W. R., Esq., Ph.D., Ker Anna, Pirros Guirce, Côtes-du-Nord,  
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- 1909. Shakespear, Col. J., The Residency, Imphal, Manipur State, Assam :  
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- 1898. Speight, Prof. Ernest E., B.A., F.R.G.S., Daishi Koto Gakko,  
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- 1893. Spoer, Mrs. H. Hamish, F.R.S.G.S., Church House, Cairo, Egypt.
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- 1910. Tolhurst, J. G., Esq., St. Albans, Beckenham.
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- 1888. Turnbull, A. H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand, per A. L. Elder & Co., 7 St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1878. Tylor, Professor Sir E. B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Linden, Welling-ton, Somerset (*Vice-President*).
  
- 1878. Udal, His Honour J. S., Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
  
- 1899. Van Gennep, Professor A., Rue Froidevaux, Paris, XIV.<sup>c</sup>
  
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- 1890. Wright, A. R., Esq., H.M. Patent Office, 25 Southampton Buildings,  
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- 1884. Wright, W. Aldis, Esq., LL.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1897. Wyndham, The Rt. Hon. G., M.P., House of Commons, S.W.

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- 1891. Amsterdam, The University Library of, per Kirberger & Kesper,  
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- 1879. Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.
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- 1878. Boston Athenæum, Boston, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd.,  
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- 1881. Boston Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co.,  
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- 1902. Bradford Free Public Library, Darley St., Bradford, per Butler  
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- 1894. Brighton Free Library, per H. D. Roberts, Esq., Chief Librarian,  
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- 1903. Cambridge Free Library, per W. A. Fenton, Esq.
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- 1897. Franklin and Marshall College, Lankaster, Penn., U.S.A., per Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th Street, New York (H. Grevel & Co., 33 King St., Covent Garden, W.C.).
- 1911. Fulham Public Library, Fulham Rd., S.W., per W. S. Rae, Esq., Librarian.
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1903. Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33<sup>o</sup>, etc., 10 Duke Street, St. James', S.W., per J. C. F. Tower, Esq., Secretary.

- 1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian, William Brown St., Liverpool.
- 1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A.
- 1910. Lund University Library, per Karl af Petersens, Librarian.
- 1878. Manchester Free Library, King St., Manchester.
- 1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
- 1902. Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
- 1908. Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, U.S.A., 10th St. Above Chestnut St., Philadelphia, U.S.A., per T. Wilson Hedley, Esq.
- 1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.
- 1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
- 1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
- 1905. Minneapolis Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1878. Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street, Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian.
- 1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.
- 1909. Museo di Etnographia Italiana, Pallazo Dell Esposizione, via Nazionale, Rome, Italy, per Dr. Lamberto Loria, Secretary and Librarian.
- 1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdrizet.
- 1894. National Library of Ireland, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
- 1908. Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., per Walter K. Jewett, Esq., Librarian.
- 1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
- 1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
- 1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
- 1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1911. North Staffordshire Field Club, per J. R. B. Masfield, Esq., Rosehill, Cheadle, Staffs.
1908. North Western University Library, Evanston, Ill., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.
1911. Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Neb., U.S.A., per Miss E. Tobitt.
1911. Oriental Institute, Vladivostock, per Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St., W.C.
1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Harrison & Sons, 45 Pall Mall, S.W.
1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1909. Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Peorio, Public Library of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, per C. S. Jago, Esq., 18 Seaton Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.
1903. Portsmouth Public Library, per A. E. Bone, Esq., Borough Treasurer.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
1894. Röhrscheid, L., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
1908. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.
1908. Royal Dublin Society, per Arthur H. Foord, Esq., Leinster Ho., Dublin.
1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1888. St. Helens Corporation Free Library, per A. Lancaster, Esq., Librarian, Town Hall, St. Helens.



- 1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
- 1908. San Francisco Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
- 1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
- 1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh, per John Minto, Esq., Librarian.
- 1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per C. H. Limbrick, Esq., Sub-Librarian.
- 1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
- 1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
- 1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard Street, W.
- 1891. Swansea Public Library, per S. E. Thompson, Esq., Librarian.
- 1908. Swarthmore College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
- 1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.
- 1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
- 1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.
- 1906. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1898. Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
- 1899. Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
- 1879. Torquay Natural History Society, per S. Boase, Esq.
- 1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.
- 1896. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.
- 1899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
- 1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per Agent-General for Victoria, Melbourne Place, Strand, W.C.
- 1909. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.
- 1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.
- 1910. Washington Public Library, D.C., Washington, U.S.A., per G. F. Bowerman, Esq., Secretary.

- 1910. Washington University Library, St. Louis, per G. E. Stechert & Co.,  
2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen  
& Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
- 1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.
- 1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A.,  
per W. J. James, Esq., Librarian.
- 1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140  
Strand, W.C.
- 1908. Woolwich Free Library, William St., Woolwich, per E. B. Baker,  
Esq., Librarian.
- 1885. Worcester Free Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul &  
Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.
  
- 1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per G. E.  
Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.





# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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VOL. XXIII.]

MARCH, 1912.

[No. I.]

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15th, 1911.

MR. EDWARD CLODD (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE  
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Dr. Gregory Foster, Provost of University College, regretting his inability to accept the Council's invitation to take the chair at the Society's first meeting at the College, and the Chairman referred to the liberal way in which the Society had been treated by the authorities of the College, who had undertaken to house the Society's library free of charge, and to allow the use of the Mocatta Library for evening meetings at a very moderate charge.

The election of Mr. C. C. Garbett, Mr. Newton H. Harding, Miss M. Meek, the Rev. Professor S. A. B. Mercer, Miss Pochin, and Mr. T. W. Thompson, as members of the Society, was announced.

The deaths of Sir H. H. Risley and Mrs. Dunnill, and the resignations of Miss Belcher, Dr. I. Gollancz, the

Rev. J. K. Macgregor, and Miss Skeffington Thompson, were also announced.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the President (Mr. W. Crooke), it was resolved:

(1) "That the Folk-Lore Society, on its reassembling, desires to place on record the feelings of deep regret with which it has received the announcement of the death of Sir Herbert H. Risley, K.C.S.I. Sir Herbert was a gifted representative of the high type of Anglo-Indian official who makes it part of his duty to enquire into the beliefs, customs, and social institutions of the races among whom he is placed. In his case the results are exhibited in his *People of India*, and allied publications of permanent value to Anthropology."

and, (2), "That a copy of this resolution be sent to Lady Risley, together with an assurance of the sympathy of the Society with her and the family in their bereavement."

The President read a paper entitled "The Veneration of the Cow in India," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Dr. Gaster, Mr. T. C. Hodson, Dr. Daiches, and Dr. Barnett took part.

The meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to the President for his paper.

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#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary read an extract from a letter addressed by Lady Risley to the President, expressing her gratitude for the resolution of condolence with her and

her family in their bereavement passed at the last Meeting.

The election of Mr. Chapman Cohen as a member of the Society was announced.

The resignations of Mr. C. H. Bompas, Miss Crookshank, and Mrs. Hulst, were also announced.

The Secretary laid on the table a book entitled *Costumes, Traditions, and Songs of Savoy*, by Miss Estella Canziani, which had been presented to the Society by the author.

Miss E. Canziani exhibited, and presented to the Society, a pipe with a bowl carved in the shape of a man's head and a long cherrywood stem, brought by her from Savoy.

The Chairman referred to the death of Mr. W. G. Aston, who, although not a member of the Society, had made several contributions to its Transactions, and to the great value of his writings on Shintoism; and it was resolved that a letter be written sympathizing with his family in their bereavement.

Mr. A. R. Wright read a paper entitled "Telling the Rosary from Far East to West," which was copiously illustrated by lantern slides and an exhibition of rosaries from different parts of the world.

Mr. T. C. Hodson read a paper on "Meithei Literature."

At the conclusion of the meeting hearty votes of thanks were passed to Miss E. Canziani for her gifts to the Society, and to Mr. A. R. Wright and Mr. Hodson for their papers.

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**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17th, 1912.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. S. Casson, the Rev. H. R. Evans, Mr. W. T. Searle, and Major A. J. N. Tremearne, as members of the Society, and the admission of the Los Angeles Public Library as a subscriber to the Society, were announced.

The resignations of Mr. A. W. Johnston, the Rev. J. R. W. Thomas, and Mrs. A. J. N. Tremearne were also announced.

Mr. T. W. Thompson read a paper on "The Ceremonial Customs of the British Gypsies," and in the discussion which followed Dr. Gaster, the Rev. George Hall, Mr. Wright, and the President took part.

The meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Thompson for his paper.

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THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12th, 1912.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Cash Account, and Balance Sheet for the year 1911 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Mr. Marett, seconded by Mr. Clodd, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year having been distributed, the Secretary and Mr. Wright were nominated by the President as scrutineers for the Ballot.

The President then delivered his Presidential Address, after which the Secretary, at his request, announced the result of the Ballot, and the following were declared duly elected, viz.:

As *President*, W. Crooke, Esq., B.A.

As *Vice-Presidents*, The Hon. John Abercromby; The Right Hon. Lord Avebury, P.C., O.M., etc.; Sir E. W. Braubrook, C.B., F.S.A.; Miss Charlotte S. Burne; E. Clodd, Esq.; J. G. Frazer, Esq., LL.D. etc.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; Sir Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.; A. C. Haddon, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S.; E. S. Hartland, Esq., F.S.A.; A. Lang, Esq., LL.D. etc.; The Right Hon. Sir J. Rhys, LL.D. etc.; W. H. Rouse, Esq., Litt.D.; The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, LL.D. etc.; and Sir E. B. Tylor, LL.D., etc.

As *Members of Council*, Mrs. M. M. Banks; M. Longworth Dames, Esq.; Lady Gomme; P. J. Heather, Esq.; W. L. Hildburgh, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson, Esq.; Miss Eleanor Hull; Sir E. im Thurn, C.B., K.C.M.G.;



W. F. Kirby, Esq., F.L.S. ; E. Lovett, Esq. ; A. F. Major, Esq. ; R. R. Marett, Esq., M.A. ; W. H. R. Rivers, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. ; C. G. Seligmann, Esq., M.D. ; C. J. Tabor, Esq. ; E. Torday, Esq. ; E. Westermarck, Esq., Ph.D. ; H. B. Wheatley, Esq., F.S.A. ; and A. R. Wright, Esq.

As *Hon. Treasurer*, Edward Clodd, Esq.

As *Hon. Auditors*, F. G. Green, Esq. ; and C. J. Tabor, Esq.

As *Secretary*, F. A. Milne, Esq., M.A.

The President having thanked the meeting for his re-election, Dr. Gaster moved, and the Rev. Canon Grant seconded, a vote of thanks to him for his address, which was carried with acclamation.

On the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Wright, a vote of thanks was also accorded to the outgoing members of Council,—Mr. A. W. Johnston and Mr. A. A. Gomme.

Miss E. Canziani exhibited the following objects, which she presented to the Society, viz. :

(1) A Piedmontese peasant wood-pipe.

(2) Charduse, a thistle which has one blossom, and grows flat on the ground high up in the mountains of North Italy. It is cut and fastened on the doors of the peasants' houses and stables to keep witches away. It is also used to foretell the weather, as, when rain is coming, it shuts up.

(3) Bread made by the peasants of Cesana, Piedmont, from *segala*, an inferior quality of wheat. It is generally made in November, and enough is made to last the whole of the following year, as it is cheaper. The bread is very hard and heavy, because it is made with boiling water and baked for twenty-four hours. The peasants live on it in the mountains, and use it instead of water, because it has a sweet taste and makes the saliva flow. It is very nourishing.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Canziani for her gift.

## THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council have pleasure in reporting that during the year twenty-four new members and two subscribers have been added to the roll. Seventeen members have resigned, and there have been two deaths. The list of members has been revised by striking out the names of those whose subscriptions were three or more years in arrear, and the total number now stands at 429.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows:—

- 18th January, 1911.* (Annual Meeting.) Presidential Address: "The Essential Unity of Folklore." Miss Charlotte S. Burne.
- 15th February.* "Hampshire Folklore." Miss D. H. Moutray Read.
- 15th March.* "Morris Dances and Sword Dances." Mr. Cecil J. Sharp.
- 5th April.* "Some Matrimonial Problems of the Western Border of India." Major A. J. O'Brien.
- 17th May.* "Sudanese and Egyptian Beliefs." Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann.
- 28th June.* "Snakestones and Stone Thunderbolts as subjects for Systematic Investigation." Mr. W. W. Skeat.
- 15th November.* "The Veneration of the Cow in India." Mr. W. Crooke.
- 20th December.* "Telling the Rosary from Far East to West." Mr. A. R. Wright.
- "Meithei Literature." Mr. T. C. Hodson.

The meeting of the 15th March was held in Messrs. Novello's Music Room in Wardour Street, and was attended by a large number of members and their friends, the sword dances being performed on the centre of the floor by a company instructed and drilled by Mr. Cecil Sharp.

Exhibits were on view at almost every meeting. The Council wish to place on record their indebtedness to Mr. A. A. Gomme for the great pains he has taken in making the necessary arrangements for the exhibition of objects, and their regret that owing to pressure of other work he will be unable to place his services at their disposal in the future.

The only object added to the Society's collection during the year was a Savoyard pipe, with a bowl carved in the shape of a man's head and a long cherry-wood stem, presented by Miss Estella Canziani, which will in due course be placed in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

The Council have much pleasure in recording that they have been successful in making arrangements with the authorities of University College, London, for holding the meetings of the Society in the College, and the Mocatta Library has been placed at the disposal of the Society for that purpose. Arrangements have also been made with the College for housing the Society's library, and the books have been removed from the Royal Anthropological Institute and from the rooms of the Secretary in Lincoln's Inn to their new abode. Mr. R. W. Chambers, the Librarian of the College, has very kindly consented to act as Honorary Librarian of the Society. An agreement has been entered into providing for the mutual use by the members of the College and the Society respectively of the books in the College and Society's libraries. The details of this agreement will appear in the next number of *Folk-Lore*. The Council invite gifts of books and pamphlets on Folklore and Anthropology as additions to the Society's collection.

The first meeting of the Society in its new quarters was held on the 15th November, when it was hoped that the Provost of the College, Dr. Gregory Foster, would have been able to take the chair; but he was unfortunately prevented from doing so by indisposition. In his absence,

the chair was taken by Mr. Edward Clodd, who congratulated the Society on its new departure, and expressed the thanks of its members to the College authorities for the liberality of the terms offered for accommodating them.

Dr. Gaster and Mr. Longworth Dames attended the meeting of the Congress of Archæological Societies in July as delegates of the Society. Mr. A. F. Major, a member of the Council, has been appointed Hon. Secretary of the Committee on Ancient Earthworks of this Congress. He will be glad to receive communications bearing on the folklore of earthworks from any member of the Society. Miss Burne, Dr. Haddon, Mr. Sidney Hartland, Dr. C. S. Myers, Professor Myres, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, as President of the Anthropological Section, Dr. Seligmann, Major Tremearne, Miss Hull, and the President represented the Society at the meeting of the British Association at Portsmouth.

Members will have observed with interest that during the year four eminent members of the Society have received the honour of knighthood, namely, the father of the modern science of anthropology, Sir E. B. Tylor; the co-founder of the Society and its director in its early years, Sir Laurence Gomme; Sir Arthur Evans; and its eminent representative in Ireland, Sir B. C. A. Windle.

The twenty-second volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. The Council have once more to tender their most cordial thanks to Mr. A. R. Wright for all the pains he has bestowed both in editing the volume and in the preparation of the index. The volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Folklore*, dealing with 1908, which it was hoped would have been ready at the beginning of last year, is nearly completed, and will be issued to members very shortly.

The extra volumes for 1911 will be Mr. J. S. Simpkins' collection of the Folklore of Fife from printed sources, and the new edition of the *Handbook of Folklore*. The Hand-

book is well on its way to completion, and the Council are confident that the volume will prove of immense value to collectors of Folklore in every quarter of the globe. The thanks of the Society are due to Miss Burne for the great care and labour she has bestowed on its preparation.

A considerable number of workers has accepted the invitation given in the last Annual Report to assist in the compilation of a new edition of the Calendar volume of Brand's *Antiquities*. About a hundred volumes have been examined, among them eleven numbers of the Early English Text Society's Publications, and a large number of extracts have been sent in. Several collectors are searching their private notes and the local records of their districts. Salvage copies of *County Folk-Lore* have been cut-up for relevant matter, and important series, such as *Notes and Queries*, are in competent hands. But more readers are required, as there remain many valuable works waiting to be read ; and the Secretary will be glad to hear from any member or friend of the Society willing to take even a very small share in the undertaking. The Council desire to thank Mrs. Banks very heartily for the work she has done as corresponding member of the committee who have the work in hand.

The committee formed in Dublin last year for the purpose of stimulating the collecting of Folklore in Ireland has not been idle, and several contributions of value have been sent in, some of which have already appeared in *Folk-Lore*. Others it is proposed to print simultaneously therein and in some Irish Archæological Record. The publication of contributions in Ireland itself is important, as it serves to draw attention to the subject on the spot, and to encourage others to aid in the work in their own part of the country.

Under the additional rules confirmed at the Special Meeting of the Society held in January, provision is made for the affiliation of Anthropological Societies connected with any of the Universities and for the admission of

members of such societies to certain privileges upon payment to the Society of an annual contribution of 2s. 6d. The Anthropological Society connected with the University of Oxford has, with the approval of the Council, been affiliated pursuant to these rules. The Council hope that, when the new Rules become better known, the advantages offered by them to University students will lead to the accession of a number of associate members.

The sum received as members' subscriptions in 1911 was £454 15s. 6d., which included two life subscriptions amounting to £21. In 1910 the receipts from this source of income amounted to £443 12s. 0d. The Council regret that the arrears of subscriptions still amount to £42.

Although the quality and scientific value of the articles published in *Folk-Lore* have been maintained in every way, the cost of printing and publishing volume XXII. only amounts to £194, compared with £219 9s. 3d., which was the cost of Vol. XXI.

The sum received in 1911 as interest on investments and as sales of stock amounted to £66 14s. 1d., as compared with £76 2s. 8d. in 1910. The Council must point out that this is due to the fact that many of the earlier publications of the Society have been completely sold out, with the exception of such volumes as were saved from the fire. The Council are disappointed at the comparatively small demand there has been for the salvage stock. The offer made to members was an exceedingly generous one: and it is hoped that in the future a larger advantage will be taken of it than has been the case in the past. Applications for copies should be addressed to Mr. C. J. Tabor, The White House, Knott's Green, Leyton, Essex. The stock has been rebound, and the price per volume, "with all faults," is 4s., payable in advance, carriage free.

The Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1911 are submitted herewith.

W. CROOKE,  
*President.*

# CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1911.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
By Cash at Bank,	-	To <i>Folk-Lore</i> :—	
" Subscriptions for 1911,	-	Printing 2 parts, 1910, 3 parts, 1911, -	£255 13 1
" " " 1910,	-	Illustrations, - - - - -	4 1 5
" " " 1912 (in advance),	-		
" 2 Composition Fees, -	-	Expenses of Distribution of do., -	£259 14 6
" Interest on Investments, -	-	" Expenses of Meetings :—	32 13 0
" Sales of Stock, -	-	Hire of Rooms, -	
" " Salvage Stock, -	-	Refreshments, -	£7 7 0
		Lantern, -	4 19 9
		Advertising, -	1 5 0
		Mr. Sharpe's Lecture, -	3 5 8
		Miscellaneous, -	6 1 6
			0 5 0
		Expenses of Management :—	23 3 11
		Auditor's Fee, -	£4 4 0
		Insurance, -	13 8 0
		Stationery, Printing, and Postage, -	20 17 4
		Brand Committee's Expenses, -	3 10 8
		Secretary's Salary, 1911, -	35 0 0
		" Poundage, 1910, -	24 17 0
		Miscellaneous, -	4 2 11
			105 19 11
		Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies, -	1 0 0
		" Balance in hands of Secretary, -	1 3 0
		" " at Bank, -	285 0 9
			£708 15 1

# BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1911.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Sundry Creditors :—			
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , xxii. 4,	£58 7 3	Cash at Bankers, -	£285 0 9
D. Nutt, -	6 18 11	" in hands of Secretary, -	1 3 0
Matthew Drew & Co., -	4 8 2	Sundry Debtors :—	£286 3 9
Simpson & Co. (in dispute), -	4 17 2		
University College, -	2 8 0		
Athenæum, -	0 12 8	D. Nutt, -	£15 6 0
H. F. Fayers & Co., -	7 1 6	Subscriptions in arrear, 1911, -	27 6 0
Secretary's Pledge, -	24 13 0	" " 1910, -	7 7 0
	£109 6 8	" in earlier years, -	6 6 0
			56 5 0
Subscriptions paid in advance, -	18 18 0	Investments at cost price :—	
Composition Fees, -	18 18 0	£500 Canada, 3½% Stock, -	£498 15 0
Balance to credit of Society, -	1,190 18 7	£500 Natal, 3½% Stock, -	496 17 6
	£1,338 1 3		995 12 6
			£1,338 1 3

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also of bound volumes of the salvage stock, of which no account is here taken.

*January 29th, 1912.*—Examined and compared with Pass Book and Vouchers, and found correct.

EDWARD CLODD *Hon. Treasurer.*

F. G. GREEN  
CHARLES J. TABOR } *Hon. Auditors.*



## *PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.*

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### THE SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF FOLKLORE.

THIRTY-THREE years, the average length of a generation, have passed since this Society was founded. We have thus attained the period of fullest maturity, and we should have prepared ourselves for the serious work of life. If by this time we have not put away childish things, and have not adopted scientific methods of investigation, our labour has been in vain, and we cannot justify our claims to take a place in the ranks of those older branches of learning whose position in the world of knowledge is assured.

The special subject on which I venture to address you this evening is the relations of folklore to those sciences with which it is most closely associated.

But before discussing questions such as these, my first duty is to express our feelings of sorrow at the loss of those fellow-workers who have recently passed away. Four of these were members of the service to which I have the honour to belong; three of them were personal friends. Sir A. Lyall will be remembered for that exceptionally profound appreciation of the religious problems of the East which is displayed in his essays on the philosophy of Hinduism and the popular religion of Berar; Sir D. Ibbetson for his investigations into the folklore and beliefs of the Panjab peasantry; Sir H. H. Risley for the foundation of the Ethnographical Survey of India, his classical

work on the Tribes of Bengal, and his valuable report on the Census of India completed in 1901 under his superintendence; and W. Irvine, the historian of the later Moghul Empire, for his admirable edition of the *Storia do Mogor* by Niccolao Manucci, in which he made an important contribution to our knowledge of Indian beliefs and usage. Mr. W. G. Aston, a valued contributor to our Proceedings, was the author of standard works on the Shintoism of Japan; Dr. J. Beddoe devoted a long life to investigating the ethnology of Great Britain and Ireland; and Professor A. H. Keane did much to popularise the study of anthropology.

It is with much pleasure that we congratulate Sir E. B. Tylor, the leader of the English school of folklore, Sir Laurence Gomme, Sir A. J. Evans, and Sir B. C. A. Windle on the honour which has been conferred upon them; and we address a message of hearty goodwill to our German colleagues on the celebration of the centenary of the first publications of those classical works on the folklore, tradition, custom, and ritual of the Teutonic people which entitle the brothers Grimm to rank as the founders of this branch of research in Europe.

Since the foundation of our Society we have steadily advanced our frontiers. It is perhaps fortunate that in the earlier stages of its career we hesitated to restrict its studies by a precise definition of aims and methods. It was certainly a happy inspiration when in 1846 Mr. Thoms invented the term Folklore to designate "that department of the study of antiquities and archæology which embraces everything relating to ancient observances and customs, to the notions, beliefs, traditions, superstitions, and prejudices of the common people." But in the stage which we have now reached this definition is inadequate, and in popular estimation gives an imperfect idea of the work on which we are engaged. In the first place, it limited our enquiries to the people of these islands; secondly, it connotes the stage

of collecting isolated facts which it was incumbent upon us to undertake at the outset of our career, not the arrangement and co-ordination of recorded material to which our efforts are now specially directed. Our annual collection of papers announces itself as "a Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom," a programme which sufficiently describes the present scheme of our work. In our early days we had some misgivings whether our objects and methods were really scientific. These doubts have long ago been dispelled. While much of our attention is concentrated on the problems of Comparative Religion, in that sense of the term which implies a survey of the beliefs of backward races throughout the world in relation to those surviving among the less cultured classes in our own and other civilised communities, our work has come to be regarded by general consent as truly scientific, and commends itself to the ever-increasing attention of all thinking men.

Our first duty obviously was to collect the popular beliefs, cults, institutions, and customs which survive in this country. To secure this, one of the primary objects of our incorporation, we are engaged, besides other special work, on the compilation of a series of volumes of County Folklore, in which the material scattered through a wide and often fugitive literature will find permanent record. For eight English counties this work is now complete; in others, including parts of Scotland and Ireland, it is in active progress. As a further step in this direction, we are about to issue, for the guidance of collectors, a comprehensive Handbook, which we owe to the learning and literary skill of Miss C. S. Burne, assisted by experts in various branches of the subject. A still more ambitious scheme, now in progress under the charge of Mr. H. B. Wheatley, is a new edition of the classical work on British folklore, the *Observations on Popular Antiquities* by John Brand. We may expect that our new edition of this work will fully represent the great advance of knowledge since

Brand's book was last edited, in an adequate way, by Sir H. Ellis in 1813. When this important work is complete we trust that we shall have, to a large extent, discharged our obligations in connection with British folklore, and shall have laid the foundations of further systematic research.

We are sometimes warned that the time for collection has passed away, and that the pseudo-culture of the present generation has destroyed the few remains of genuine folk-belief in these islands. Much undoubtedly has been lost, and is now past recovery. But I venture to think that much more of the ancient tradition than is generally believed will reward the patient enquirer. The remarkable fact about the lore of the folk is its extreme vitality. It may not be openly expressed, because an ignorant minority brands it as vulgar or unscientific. But this amorphous group of beliefs, deep rooted in the hearts of our people, never entirely disappears, and fragments of it crop up in the most unexpected places.

Only last year, in a Worcestershire village, a woman foolish enough to marry a man much her senior was branded a witch, and was obliged to insert an advertisement in the local newspapers threatening legal proceedings against her traducers. I heard lately of another woman in Gloucestershire who has acquired a like uncanny reputation because she is in the habit of keeping two pigs,—one white, the other black. A young singer who recently made her début on the stage informs the public through the halfpenny press that she owes her success to her manager's gift of a lucky shilling just before her first performance. Mr. Lovett, out of his great store of specimens, has on more than one occasion demonstrated at our meetings that countless varieties of charms and mascots are used by all classes of society; and we lately heard of a Jew applying to a London coroner for a piece of the rope used by a suicide for a charm because, as Mr. Hartland recently

taught us,<sup>1</sup> the feeling with which self-murder is regarded suggests a manifestation of the shock given to the collective mentality of the group by the tragical death of one of its members. In a suit recently decided in the Wandsworth County Court the Judge refused to cancel the lease of a house reputed to be haunted, on the ground that, the existence of ghosts not being recognised by the law, no pranks alleged to have been played by them could be held to justify the breach of a specific contract. "We suspect," sagely remarks a writer in *The Times*,<sup>2</sup> "that the result of a few such cases so determined would be to diminish the number of ghost stories now afloat and accepted."

We have thus to deal with a class of beliefs which seriously affect the lives of considerable sections of our people. In this fact lies one justification for our studies. A second is to be found in the value of such beliefs from the historical standpoint. It is needless to reopen the vexed question,—How far can the evidence of folklore be used by the historian? But we must bear in mind that the most backward races, the Veddas, for instance, have no mythology, no tribal tradition, no stories of the origin of man, no accounts of their own beginnings. Even people in a somewhat higher stage of culture display a strangely monotonous uniformity in their explanations of phenomena and of the origin and destiny of the human race. This mental inertia, lack of curiosity and imagination, are at once the result and the cause of stagnation in culture.

Myth, then, is the record, often the only record, of man's groping in the darkness, of his successive attempts to solve the riddles of the universe and of his own mind. It is something more than the excuse of a stupid man for his lack of understanding. In other words, myths embody the results of his accumulated experiences, and a race destitute of myth is necessarily unprogressive. In all primitive

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., pp. 168 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Oct. 25, 1911.

groups custom is practically the only guide to conduct, and folklore, which is essentially the record of custom, is sometimes evidence of the highest value as a test of the rate of custom evolution.

It is inevitable that during the growth to maturity of a progressive science it should be compelled to revise its methods, to correct more than one misapprehension, and to discard many tentative explanations of the problems which it attempts to solve. We have no reason to feel discouraged if we find that our theories fail to withstand criticism. Some of us, perhaps, are inclined to look deeper into the millstone than the nature of the millstone allows. But theory-making is the best sign of vigorous life in any science, and, even if a theory prove to be mistaken, it serves at least to call attention to a problem, and the evidence collected in support of it remains at the service of some more successful theorist in the future. Speculation marks the healthy stage when we are passing from the "unanimity of the ignorant" to the "disagreement of the enquiring."

One of the chief misapprehensions against which we are bound to protest is the attempt to confuse the spheres of Comparative Religion and Comparative Theology. The former aims at comparing the beliefs of savage or barbaric tribes with those current in the lower strata of civilised nations; the latter uses these facts for purposes of speculation, to refute or support the theological or dogmatic schemes of some other religion. In the course of a discussion which followed the recent Universal Races Congress anthropologists were invited, as a class, to express some definite opinion on the nature of soul and body and their inter-relations. To this appeal Dr. Haddon<sup>3</sup> gave the obvious reply that this is the business of the psychologist, theologian, or moral philosopher, not of the anthropologist; and that most anthropologists are content

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, Aug. 8, 1911.

with the humbler task of ascertaining what the peoples think about such things, leaving it to somebody else to draw his own inferences from the facts.

A second misapprehension arises from the vague use of the term "primitive" as applied to the lowest stage of culture with which we are acquainted. It is necessary to state clearly that no phase of human culture of which we possess adequate knowledge is "primitive" in the true sense of the term. The Arunta of Australia, with their elaborate social organisation, are as little primitive as palæolithic man with his artistic carvings and paintings. In both cases evolution has progressed through unnumbered ages. When, then, we speak of "primitive" culture we simply mean that, in comparison with modern civilisation, it is in some directions imperfectly developed.

During its course our ship has been forced to discard much of its cargo. Few students of folk-tales, for instance, now believe that they are modern, or at least historical in origin; that the distinctively savage incidents embedded in them do not constitute the very core of the narrative, but are later accretions; that our European tales are derived from a single centre, whether India or any other. The cult of the sainted dead is no longer held to account for all, or most, savage deities. We are coming to see that no single explanation applies to the varied forms of the totemic complex, and that the totem sacrifice, except within certain restricted areas, is no longer the only key to the evolution of ritual. Few of us are now prepared to deny that backward races possess a comparatively high mental and ethical standard, and present knowledge, instead of emphasizing the kinship of the savage with the higher animal, diminishes the gap between him and civilised man, the real distinction being that the one expends his intellectual energy in directions which the other regards as unimportant.

The replacement of the meteorological by the anthro-

pological method of interpreting myth is, again, a notable mark of progress. The result has been to discredit the study of nature mythology, and in particular of solar mythology. But this neglect of conceptions which must have deeply impressed early man, as they now impress savage and barbaric races, is unjustifiable. Though we may reasonably refuse to connect all or most of our folk-tales with the dawn or the dairy, solar myths supply the only interpretation of the Vedic and other systems, products of an advanced, not of a primitive, society, and of more than one folk-tale cycle, like that of Cúchulainn, who is regarded by some writers as the Celtic sun-hero.<sup>4</sup> When once the mythologists agree to set their house in order, as the modern school is endeavouring to do to-day, a reaction is sure to set in.

Meanwhile our attention is at present concentrated on the study of ritual. The best justification of this change of method lies in the fact that, except in the esoteric cults which form an important element in savagery, it is easier to ascertain what men do in relation to their gods, than what they think about them. But the status of ritual is infinitely varied. Sometimes, as among the Todas, its rank growth smothers the tribal beliefs and legends. Sometimes it survives because it is taken under the patronage of some higher religion, as in the case of the Lenten Carnival at Viza, which is purely a cult of Dionysus.<sup>5</sup> Or, again, ritual practically disappears, as among the Torres Straits tribes, owing to culture contact. Among the peasantry of Europe and elsewhere its vitality is due to its close connection with social observances, like the spring and harvest celebrations. On the other hand,

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Miss Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga* (1898), p. lxxvi.; J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv., p. 353. This view is disputed by J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 133 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxvi., pp. 191-205; W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 16 *et seq.*



myth is exceedingly flexible and readily adapts itself to changes in the consciousness of primitive groups, while even in the more advanced culture the mythopæic faculty is active, and, by the personification of powers, qualities, or attributes, may create a new ritual or even a new group of deities.

When, therefore, we insist upon the vitality of ritual we must not forget that its efficacy varies with the intent accompanying it; that in some cases it has become merely automatical, and is practised when its original significance has been forgotten, and, though in form it may persist unchanged, the intent may vary among unrelated groups. It is as dangerous to discuss rites torn up by the roots from the environment to which they belong, as to compare a series of myths similar in outward form but reflecting different primary conceptions.

The rites connected with the dead are especially persistent, because they are adapted to meet some of the most urgent necessities, the placating of the friendly, the scaring of the malignant, ghost. Our attention has recently been called to a remarkable series of rites performed at the funeral of a gypsy named Isaac Heron, who died at Sutton-on-Trent about a year ago.<sup>6</sup> We observe with a shock of surprise that a distinctly savage ritual was performed in our midst. It includes the belief in the infective taboo of the corpse; the destruction of the movable property of the dead man by fire or by immersion in water; the light kept burning near the corpse; the taboo of all food in contact with it, and the refusal to cook in its neighbourhood; the funeral feast preceded by a fast and eaten at a distance from the scene of death. One remarkable custom, that connected with the dressing of the body, needs further examination before it can be described or discussed.

<sup>6</sup> *The Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (N.S.), vol. v., pp. 37-53; and paper by Mr. T. W. Thompson, read before the Folk-Lore Society on Jan. 17th, 1912.

The future progress of the science of folklore depends, as I have already said, upon our relations with, and the help which we can receive from, those sciences with which it is most intimately associated,—psychology, sociology, and ethnography or ethno-geography.

The recent developments in experimental psychology and the improved appliances now available for field-work have done much to extend our knowledge of savage mentality. They help us, for instance, to understand the aptitudes which in different races initiate varied artistic attainments, the differences of sense acuity, powers of memory, association, faculties mental and physical,—all considerations of importance in the study of the growth and transmission of folk-beliefs.

As an example of the service which experimental psychology can confer on folklore I may refer to a paper by Dr. C. S. Myers on the uniformity of belief among savage races and the peasantry of Europe.<sup>7</sup> Hitherto we have been in the habit of assuming that we are entitled to compare the beliefs and customs of the European peasant with those current among savage tribes. But this, though accepted as an axiom, remained unverified, and some critics have not failed to take advantage of this flaw in our armour. Dr. Myers now provides an answer which, with certain reservations, may be accepted. As the result of experiments among the people of Torres Straits he concludes that the mental characters of the majority of the peasant class throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of savage communities, and that the differences which do exist are the result of environment and individual variability.

At the same time, we must remember, firstly, that the observations upon which these conclusions are based are limited in extent; secondly, that we must hesitate to assume more than a general uniformity in savage life as a

<sup>7</sup> *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems*, pp. 73-85.

whole, or more particularly in the case of the peasantry of Europe.

The casual observer of any type of savage culture is naturally led to emphasize points of agreement in adjacent groups or individuals, and to neglect the differences by which they are distinguished. But the trained field-worker, as he pursues his investigations, is forced to recognise that beneath a specious level of uniformity there are important individual distinctions, which become apparent only as the result of long-continued study.

Long ago Darwin taught us that "savages, even within the limits of the same tribe, are not nearly as uniform in character as has often been asserted."<sup>8</sup> M. Lévy-Bruhl has recently urged that primitive thought is of a wholly different order from that of civilised man. For instance, death is to the savage not "the unique and catastrophic event it seems to us, but merely a condition of passing from one existence to another, forming but one of a number of transitions which stand out as the chief memories of his life."<sup>9</sup> Hence Mr. Marett judiciously warns us that this "homogeneity of primitive culture, however, must not be made the excuse for a treatment at the hands of psychology and sociology that dispenses with the study of details and trusts to an a priori method. By all means let universal characterization be attempted, . . . but they must at least model themselves on the composite photograph rather than the impressionist sketch."<sup>10</sup>

When we consider psychology on the theoretical side, the case is somewhat different. On many of the questions which interest us the oracle gives an uncertain response. Thus, on the question whether magic did or did not precede

<sup>8</sup> *The Descent of Man* (1889), p. 174; W. J. Sollas, in *Ancient Hunters etc.*, pp. 175 *et seq.*, makes the same remarks about palæolithic man and the present Australian.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1912, pp. 393 *et seq.*

<sup>10</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vol. xxiii., p. 63.

religion, Dr. Frazer appeals to the high authority of Hegel in support of his conclusions. On the other hand, most English psychologists reject the associationist explanation as scientifically inadequate from the standpoint of the individual consciousness, and prefer to regard both magic and religion as equally means of approach to the Divine, one not being necessarily antecedent to the other, and their use being a matter of temperament rather than of time. To use Mr. Hartland's happy phrase, both originate in "the primitive theoplasm or god-stuff." In the growth of the tribal consciousness religion gains respectability because it is taken under the patronage of the priesthood, and becomes the recognised mode of securing those objects which are vital to the welfare of the community. But it gradually shades off, by many intermediate stages, into magic, the lower and anti-social form, which thus falls into disrepute and is appropriated by the witch.

The services of psychology to folklore are already so considerable, that we may hope for even more important results when the field-worker and the arm-chair philosopher join forces. We owe to the psychologist that interpretation of material collected in India and elsewhere which has led to the theory of Pre-animism, and seems likely to rob Animism of half its kingdom. Even if, as some among us may venture to think, the original definition of Animism is wide enough to include the conception of that feeling of awe and mystery in face of the powers and potencies which lie at the back of both religion and magic, at the same time the new definition provides us with a useful method of reclassifying some phases of primitive belief.

We may reasonably expect from psychology much new light on the abnormal working of the mind of primitive man, as it is exhibited in phenomena like those of hallucination, shamanism, or lycanthropy, which require more scientific examination in the field than they have hitherto

received. They deserve special attention because, as Mr. Jevons<sup>11</sup> remarks, possession and ecstasy are the first manifestations of personal as opposed to tribal religion. The difficulty of investigation lies in the fact that spirits are shy creatures, and if, as I have been assured in India, they object to manifest themselves before a cow, a Brahman, and more particularly before an Englishman, the appearance of a psychologist on the prowl may be more than their nerves can stand. But if a physicist and a psychologist could attend a fire-walking séance and make a few simple experiments, we should soon learn the secret of manifestations which are still not capable of full explanation. Field-work of this kind will doubtless by and by lead us to a true ethno-psychology, and thus advance our views on the origin and transmission of folk usages and beliefs.

When we come to our relations with sociology, we find a general agreement that the principles of the social process are the controlling factors in the growth of belief and custom; and that, whether we investigate primitive culture by the light of history or by analogies drawn from contemporary savagery, we can attain clearer knowledge only by analysing each fact in the complex by its relation to evidence drawn from the social group under examination, or from types adjacent to it. It is now settled doctrine that folk-beliefs are influenced by the social, and this in its turn by the physical, environment; and that it is in beliefs of this kind that the communal life finds its clearest expression. This, of course, applies only to what have been called "spontaneous" beliefs, those which grow with the evolution of the group, or are devised to meet difficulties and secure benefits as the need arises, as opposed to the "historical," which owe their origin to the predominating, sometimes the magical, influence of some lawgiver or teacher, and therefore stand outside the field of our studies.

But the older sociologist was satisfied to devote his

<sup>11</sup> *The Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 110.

attention to the reform of those abuses which are generated in all advanced communities. The new sociology includes in its survey "the phenomena of the creeds and ethical systems of humanity, of the great systems of religion and philosophy."<sup>12</sup> If this be more than a pious aspiration, our work and that of the sociologist run on parallel lines, and, if he can help us in reducing to order the mass of unsifted material which awaits co-ordination and arrangement before it can be used by the student, he will perform valuable service.

It is, however, on ethnography or ethno-geography that the future progress of our studies mainly depends. I can deal with its relations to folklore only in connection with our national beliefs, and that in a very summary way.

The question whether we are able to identify race elements in European folklore has long engaged our attention. Before it is possible to arrive at any conclusion on this difficult subject we must be certain that the problems of race stratification have been clearly solved. This is admittedly not the case. We know enough, however, to assure us that our present terminology must be changed.

The history of the ancient world, as now presented to us, is a record of the constant ebb and flow of tides of migration, leading to the intermingling and confusion of physical types as well as beliefs and institutions. In these islands, as was the case in France, there seems to have been no cultural gap between the palæolithic races and their successors. The so-called Aryan question has assumed a new form since the ancestors of the Aryan-speaking Celts are found in the Alpine race who are supposed by some to have come from the East, or, as Professor Ridgeway believes, were the result of environment acting on members of the other European peoples, the Nordic or Teutonic, and the Mediterranean. The term Aryan now survives as little more than a linguistic expression to define a group of tribes with

<sup>12</sup>B. Kidd, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vol. 25, p. 326.

a common language and some common mythological conceptions. The latest authorities even refuse to admit the existence of a personal high god, or sky father, among these tribes before their dispersal. "It is likely enough," says Dr. Rice Holmes,<sup>13</sup> the latest and best authority, "that the greater gods whom the Celts worshipped and who, variously imagined and with various names, were the common heritage of the Aryan-speaking peoples, were in part descended from deities who were not Aryan, and were adored in Britain in a somewhat different spirit before the first Celt landed on the Kentish shore." But this is a question which remains, and probably will remain, doubtful.

The result of these considerations is to emphasize the difficulty of tracing a connection between the beliefs current among our peasantry and those of the races who occupied these islands before the dawn of history. We must hesitate to accept any efforts to project our conceptions of the psychology of backward races in our time into a far distant past, for the reconstruction of which we possess no adequate materials. This evidence is practically confined to the *mobilier* of interments, and, though the cult of the dead is of supreme interest, the absence of all evidence of primitive social organisation and of birth and marriage rites prevents us from reaching a full interpretation of those forces which swayed the mind of the primitive savage.

In these islands we possess no materials for a survey of the beliefs of palæolithic man, and little advance for our purpose is to be gained by a comparison of his material culture with that of people like the Tasmanians, who lived in a quite different environment, except an inference, based upon our general experience of savage life, that no tribe is destitute of the elements of religion. In southern France the implements and ornaments found with the dead in the Mentone caves, the rock carvings and paintings, the coloured pebbles and bull-roarers, suggest, on the analogy of similar

<sup>13</sup> *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar* (1907), p. 272.

objects found in Australia, that they may have subserved some religious purpose. Further inferences, in the present stage of our knowledge, are hazardous in the extreme. It has even been doubted whether the dead were, in this period, deliberately interred; but the most recent excavations show that some of the corpses found in the caves were ceremonially buried.<sup>14</sup>

Even in the case of neolithic man our information is very scanty. To quote Dr. Rice Holmes again<sup>15</sup>:—"Even the fancy that an ethereal soul survived bodily death may not have been universal; and as the Tonga islanders and the Virginians are said to have believed that only the souls of chiefs would live again, so it is conceivable that the slaves by whose sweat were built the barrows in which their lords were to be interred were regarded as doomed to annihilation. And when we are told that some quaint superstition which the folklorist discovers in Devonshire or the Highlands is non-Aryan, and must therefore be traceable to the people who were here before the first Celtic invader arrived, we may ask how it is possible to disprove that it had been inherited from the Celt from remote ancestors or had been borrowed by him from non-Aryan tribes while he was still a wanderer. We must be content, if we can but catch something of the spirit of the neolithic religion, to remain in blank ignorance of its details. We must keep in mind that in unnumbered centuries it cannot have remained the same, and that in diverse regions its manifestations must have been various." That their beliefs were probably of the animistic type, that, like all savages and barbaric peoples, they were slaves to custom, fettered by taboos, and compelled, when they were driven by necessity to violate them, to expiate their offence by complex rites, that a change from the nomadic and pastoral to agricultural

<sup>14</sup> W. J. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters etc.*, pp. 146 *et seq.* For the Aurignacian age, *ibid.*, p. 266, and, for the Crô Magnon, *ibid.*, p. 372.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 117.



life may have produced a new view of the divine world and a new type of cultus,—this is all that we can at present safely predicate.

If the beliefs of the prehistoric age must remain vague and uncertain, when we reach the historical period our indebtedness to Celtic tradition is supported by ample evidence. In what has been called the "Celtic fringe," (where, by the way, the bulk of the population is of Iberian, not Celtic origin), the spirit of imagination and romance has produced a wealth of tradition and folk-tale, a vivid realisation of a life beyond the grave, a more intimate association of man with the spirit world, than exists among the English people. How far this is due to race or religious and political influences we are unable to say. But, in any case, the work done under the auspices of this Society in the Celtic and Arthurian field by the late Mr. Nutt and by workers still among us, like Sir J. Rhys, Miss Hull, and Miss Weston, is a branch of our studies which we can regard with satisfaction.

This leads us to the controversy which for some years enlivened our Proceedings,—that between the Traditionalists and the Casualists, the advocates of the vertical as opposed to the lateral transmission of tales and beliefs. Recently the question has assumed another form, which is lucidly described by Dr. Rivers in his address at the last meeting of the British Association.<sup>10</sup> He tells us how he, a believer in the evolutionary theory of the British school, was, by his studies in Melanesia, converted to the German doctrine of the monogenetic origin of culture, and how he finds that even the conception of *mana* was introduced by a higher race into those islands. As regards folk-tales, most of us are now prepared to admit that incidents, particularly those of an abnormal or savage type, are survivals from a primitive stage. But when we find a definite seriation of

<sup>10</sup> Presidential Address, Section H (Anthropology), British Association, Portsmouth (1911).

incidents, and, more particularly, when an apparently alien incident occupies in all the variants a fixed place in the sequence, we agree that the tale, as a whole, was imported from some single original centre, wherever that may be. If the new theory of transmission ultimately prevails, it may help us to substitute for the doctrine of the race transmission a different conception, that of local evolution controlled by the clash and contact of peoples, if we recognise that such clash and contact is the true seed-bed of folklore. The meeting of two groups, each with its own stock of beliefs and tradition, necessitates, if one is to understand the other, the creation of myth and legend. Thus, the clash of Christianity on paganism in western Europe has proved one of the most fertile sources from which our existing folklore has originated.

I have dwelt this evening specially upon folklore in its scientific aspect. It remains for us to endeavour to establish anthropology on its psychical side as the central unifying science which will systematize those with which it is most intimately associated. We start on our early middle age with bright hopes for the future. We have done much to improve our methods. We are learning to generalize with more caution, to practise what a great writer on sociology called "animated moderation," to admit that the laws of evidence control our Proceedings no less than those of the Courts of Justice. Folklore, in short, is gradually coming into its kingdom, and it is no longer compelled, like the priest-king of the Arician grove, to fight periodically for its life. We trust that in the new quarters which we have obtained through the generosity of the Provost and Committee of University College we may enter on a new career of prosperity. We have now secured excellent accommodation for our library, accessions to which will be gratefully received. Our association with a great educational centre will, we trust, bring the study of the folk beliefs and usages of mankind more prominently

before the rising generation of intellectual men, and will convince them of its utility in the promotion of other branches of learning. The same object is now being attained by the establishment of Anthropological Societies at Oxford and Cambridge under the charge of Mr. Marett and Professor Haddon. We are prepared to admit on very favourable terms members of these societies as associates in the Folk-Lore Society, an offer which will, we trust, be widely accepted. When much of the literature of our day is forgotten, the philosophical historian of the thirtieth or fortieth century will seek in the novels of George Eliot or Thomas Hardy, the poems of William Barnes, the sketches of Richard Jefferies, and last, but not least, in our publications, for a living picture of rural thought and life in our times. We may reasonably hope that some of the enthusiasm with which the wild life of the countryside is now being studied will in time be directed to the not less interesting traditional lore of our peasant classes. The study of folk-music, folk-dances, folk-games, when they come to form a part of our system of popular education, will do much to restore that gaiety of life which Merry England once enjoyed, and will prove a remedy for that pessimism, with its accompanying taste for sensational amusements, which is one of the evils of the present time.

To us who have drunk from the fountain, folklore appeals more on the artistic and imaginative side. It has opened to us a new world of romance and beauty. Like the voice of the nightingale, it

“oft-times hath

Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam  
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.”

We may say of it,—to use the words which one of the friends whose untimely loss I have commemorated prefixed to his last and greatest book,—“In good sooth, my masters, this is no door. Yet it is a little window, that looketh upon a great world.”

W. CROOKE.

## ÔDIKAL AND OTHER CUSTOMS OF THE MUPPANS.

BY F. FAWCETT.

(*Read at Meeting, June 1st, 1910.*)

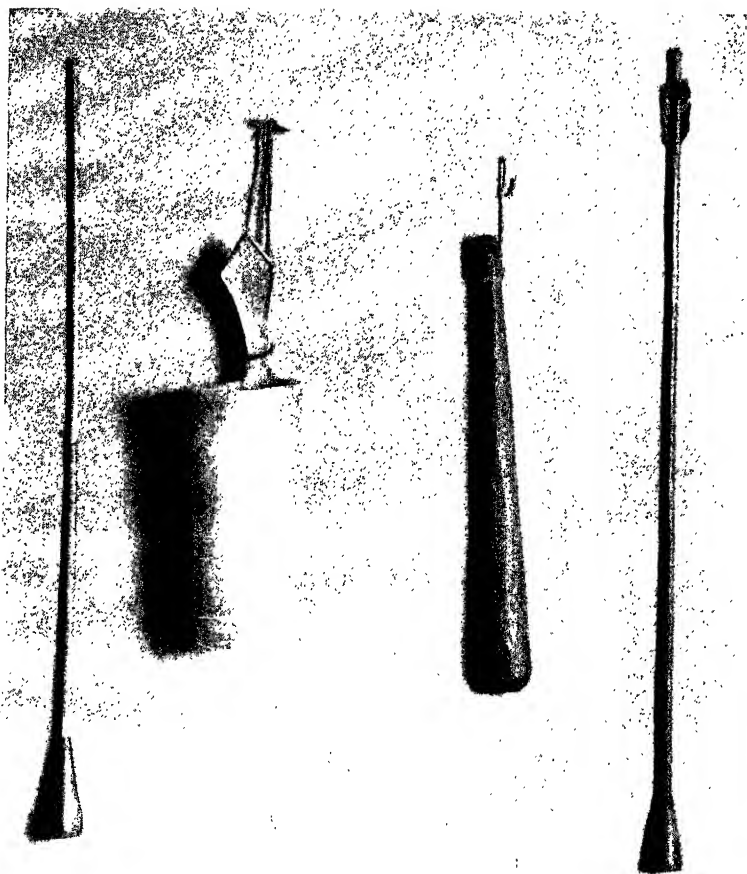
THE Muppans are a hill-tribe of Wynaad, Malabar. They live by cultivation and by collecting jungle produce. Their villages usually consist of a few huts of rude construction, but I have seen one in which there were about twelve in sets of four as near to each other as the uneven surface of the ground allowed. The huts, with the exception of a roof of grass thatch, are constructed entirely of bamboos, which, for the walls, had been opened out flat and, as it were, woven. As there is no plastering of mud, these dwellings must be very cold and comfortless in the monsoon. Each one is merely a covered-in room about twelve to fourteen feet in length and about eight feet high to the top of the ridge of the roof. The doors of some of the huts face south, while in Malabar generally houses never face the south,—the unlucky quarter where the dead are buried or burned.

Like most jungle people the men are familiar with the bow and arrow, but they are not regular hunters. On one occasion I saw a number of boys playing a game called *Chôrâyyi*, the players standing in a row and shooting with small bows and unfeathered arrows at a roughly-fashioned disc of bark which a man, standing some twenty yards in front and a little to the right of the row of boys, threw in front of them. The man threw the disc overhand, and,

as it rolled and bounded along the ground in a line parallel to the players, the latter shot at it with their little arrows, and hit it often. It is therefore obvious that the men are habituated to the bow and arrow from childhood, even though they are not regular hunters; but, as we shall see presently, a Muppan sometimes finds it useful to be expert with these weapons.

During one of my visits to Wynaad I observed a small hut constructed high up and near the top of an immense clump of bamboos, some thirty feet or more from the ground. This was within a few yards of the hut of a Muppan which was itself somewhat removed from the little *pādi*, as a cluster of huts is called. The erection in the tree was said to be for occupation by the wife and three children of the Muppan, who was often absent. They slept in it for safety, as wild animals were numerous. It was reached by a very insecure-looking ladder, which was nothing but one long bamboo, the branches of which had been lopped off a few inches from the stem. As it seemed impossible that any human being could make such an ascent, a small boy was sent up to show me how. He went up with the greatest ease, much to my amazement.

The owner of these two establishments, one of which was useless without the possession of monkey-like agility and balance, was said to be the man who "kept the god"; so I went into the hut on the ground to have a look. The objects which were pointed out to me as representing "the god" were as follows:—A bundle of strips of bamboo, some three feet in length, bulged in the middle and tied at the ends; an axe; a bow; arrows; some *ōdikal* sticks; a pair of stag's horns. All, except the last, were objects for use. In another *pādi* not far off I saw objects just such as these, which were also said to represent "the god." I thought at the time that the bundle was a fetish and protective, but it was evidently not completely so,—from the hut in the tree.



ÔDIKAL STICK AND ARROWS AND MUPPAN  
WATER-VESSEL.



The explanation of the strips of bamboo tied in a bundle is this. A bundle was opened out for me. The bulge in the middle was due to there being in the centre of the bundle a number of small pegs cut something like a fork with one end longer than the other, by a few whacks from a jungle knife or chopper. On a certain day in the year, (known as *Uchâl* day in Malabar), following the death of a man, there is performed the following ceremony by the Muppans. So far as I know it is peculiar to them. A strip of bamboo is pegged out semicircularly on the ground, with three pegs such as have been described. Over this are placed some leaves of a certain tree, (which I have not, unfortunately, identified), and upon the leaves some rice and other offerings of food and liquor, if any is obtainable. These are, of course, for the benefit of the deceased. Then all the strips in the bundle are pegged out and treated in the same way. After some time the food is removed and eaten, while the new strip of bamboo with its three pegs is added to the bundle, which thus increases in size. The bundle is spoken of as *Pennu mûri* (ancestor people).<sup>1</sup> The strips of bamboo are used for men only, never for women, and for men only in the case of those whose moustaches have sprouted. It may be said that, like all the inferior races, hair grows, but never thickly, on the upper lip and on the chin a mere tuft, and never, or very, very seldom, on the cheeks. At all events, if a male has not attained manhood, indicated by the growth of some hair on his face, he is allowed no strip of bamboo, and, as in the case of the women, is given only the leaves and food.

The Muppans' hair, it may be said, is worn Malabar fashion, shaved except on the crown, where the hair is long and tied into a knot. The wilder jungle tribes of Wynaad do not observe this fashion of hairdressing. The

<sup>1</sup> The word *Pennu* has the same signification among the Khonds in the extreme north-east of the Madras Presidency.



Muppans do not observe the custom usual in Malabar, among all Hindus as well as among all the lower non-Hindu races, for a man to allow his hair,—all the hair on his body,—to grow so long as his wife is with child.<sup>2</sup>

A woman is delivered in a small hut, erected for the purpose, a few yards to the south of the *pādi*, and there she remains during the following forty-five days, having for company a woman of her own *pādi*. At the end of this period she bathes in a stream, washes her clothes, receives new ones, and after “holy water” (brought from the nearest Hindu temple) has been sprinkled over her and over the little shed, she returns to her hut, purified of all pollution.

Conversation turning towards the subject, I endeavoured to elicit from some Muppans what they considered to be downright bad,—the worst action a man could be guilty of. They seemed rather clear on the point; and yet, perhaps, there was misunderstanding on both sides. At all events, they were cocksure the worst act a man could do was going too near a Hindu temple. Restrictions as to approaching the person or even the dwelling of a high caste man, or a Hindu temple, in Malabar are very strictly observed, and under these unwritten rules no Muppan is ever allowed nearer to a Hindu temple than ten yards from the outer wall which encloses the temple grounds. Should a man happen to trespass against this rule, snakes are sent to annoy him,—to punish him.

We now come to *ōdikal*. Oddly enough its existence became known for the first time about fifteen years ago, through a case which was eventually tried in the usual way in our courts, and this case arose out of the unprecedented circumstance of a Muppan having learned to write. He was the first and only Muppan who had ever learned

<sup>2</sup>The only information I have on the subject of marriage is that a man may not under any circumstances take a second wife from the *pādi* to which his first wife belonged.

to write at all. This pioneer in knowledge had acquired the Malayālam, the vernacular alphabet, and was able to write simple words and names; and so it was that, when his uncle, a victim of *ōdikal*, at the point of death revealed the names of the men who had killed him, he wrote their names on a piece of paper. Then there was a case of murder. Up to this time every Muppan kept in his hut a couple of *ōdikal* sticks (Plate I.), just in case they might be wanted for an enemy. Then they disappeared as if by magic, and could not be procured for money. I was, however, able to secure two genuine ones. They were obtained at the very place where, so far as we know, the last *ōdikal* deed was done, where, indeed, I made my camp in a lonely glade in the bamboo jungle, and where the whole story of the process of *ōdikal* was, in course of time and patience, revealed to me.

It was not made quite clear what offences on the part of an individual rendered him liable to death by *ōdikal*. Certainly intriguing with another man's wife was one of them, because it was this which led the last victim to his fate. Mere suspicion, or even proof as we understand it in law, is not sufficient to establish a case of *ōdikal*: there must be definite demonstration to the extent of ocular proof. When this has taken place, the aggrieved husband may consult the men of his own *pādi*, who are always related, whether the other man should be killed by *ōdikal*; and, if he is unable to convene a satisfactory consultation among those of his own *pādi*, he calls in relatives from elsewhere. Women are never consulted, nor is the subject ever mentioned to them. The conclave considers the whole affair in secrecy, and arrives at a decision whether the other man deserves death by *ōdikal*. Decision for death cannot be made without the unanimous consent of the men present. Sometimes the verdict is that the offence is not worthy of death, and then there is an end of it. Or it may be that the risk is too great. If death is decided

upon, a bow is at once made to the ancestors and to Wulligan and Kuttichâthan, promising the sacrifice of a cock and offerings of other food when all has concluded satisfactorily. [Wulligan, a Malabar "devil," is accused of causing pains to men and women, pressing their necks while sleeping, and calling out and frightening people,—all for the fun of the thing,—while Kuttichâthan, an exceedingly mischievous spirit, sets fire to thatched houses and straw ricks, and is specially annoying to small boys.] The Muppans believe that these two unpleasant beings lord it as gods over their ancestors. So familiar are they in Malabar that anyone will tell you what they look like, even to the length of their hair. Most fearsome to look upon, it is, indeed, mainly by their hair that one is distinguished from the other, for they do not observe the same fashion, one dressing his in a curious crown arrangement some five cubits above his head, while the other adopts a style resembling the Prince of Wales' feathers, the centre pinnacle reaching to 20 cubits in height. These weird spirits, to whom are imputed almost every possible kind of personal calamity which cannot be accounted for at once and obviously throughout the low country, the littoral in Malabar, are the gods of the Muppans' ancestors. It is to be noted that neither the ancestors nor their gods are ever consulted as to whether the particular offence in question deserves punishment by death; they are simply invoked for help under promise of fresh blood and other food in case of success.

The best days for *ôdikal* are Sundays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, the luckiest days. The man to be killed is watched, and opportunity is taken by the plotters, who are as a rule three to five in number, to come upon him while alone in the forest. He is brought to the ground by a well-aimed blunt arrow (Plate I.), striking him on the back of the head. This shot is easy of accomplishment, as the Muppans wear no turbans, but one directed

to the middle of the backbone, (as they are not clothed above the waist), or on the sternum answers the purpose equally well. As soon as their victim has fallen, the men engaged in the deed run up to him and stuff a cloth into his mouth,—to prevent him from calling out when he comes to,—and carry him, while still unconscious, to a convenient place, where they are not likely to be molested,—for the operation to be performed takes some time. He is held firmly, lying flat on the ground, face upwards, while one of the party, standing over him, hits two smart, but not severe, blows on his right elbow, the outside of the joint; then on the left elbow, in precisely the same manner; then on the right knee-cap; and then on the left knee-cap. He is turned on his left side, and, while the right arm is raised, he is given several sharp blows on the ribs, beginning under the armpit and working downwards. His left side then receives similar treatment, he being turned on his right side for the purpose. Next he is turned over on his face, and, with the thick end of the stick, he is dabbed outside the shoulder blades, working downwards, first the right and then the left. The next blow, one only, is administered to the small of the back. The victim is then turned on his back, and is dealt one blow on the sternum. His chin is slightly raised, while one smart blow falls on his Adam's apple. The outside point of the right ankle joint is then tapped sharply with the stick,—I am not sure whether once or twice, but probably only once; then the left one. He is then raised to a standing position, and given one good dab in the abdomen, and one whack on the top of the head. All this torture which has been described is done deliberately, without any hurry whatever, great care being taken to deal out the taps neatly and precisely, exactly on the right spot. When it is all over, the victim is made to swear that he has not been beaten at all. He is made to swear "by the god above and by the earth below" that he will never reveal the names of his

murderers, and he is at the same time informed that, if he should do so, every member of his family will be treated in the same manner, one every year. It may be that, deeming his answers unconvincing, the death dealers will not trust him, and in such a case they make sure of their own safety by damaging their victim's tongue with thorns in such a way that he is unable to speak. This last piece of devilment was said to be resorted to but seldom. They have now done with him, and, if his *pādi* is not far off, they allow him to walk thither alone. If, however, it is at some distance, and he is suffering from exhaustion, they help him along in a friendly way until he is near enough to reach it unaided.

The wretched man reaches his home knowing well that his death will take place without fail within seven or eight days. In the case which I was able to examine, *ōdikal* took place on a Tuesday, and death took place on the following Monday. Kêlu, the victim, was supposed by his family to be suffering from fever, common enough in that malarial district, accompanied by intense pain, until the Saturday, when the appearance of some slight swellings made them at once aware of the truth. He was unable to swallow nourishment in any form, and, racked with pain, sat on the ground holding his hands behind his head. Just before he died, coming back to his senses after a long swoon, he was able to hold up one hand, the fingers distended, and with much difficulty enumerate five names. That was all. His nephew, who was constant in attending upon him and the first Muppan possessing any literary aspirations, at once wrote these names on a scrap of paper. Thus the *ōdikal* came under the notice of the local officials, with the result that a charge of murder was launched.

The injuries caused by the taps, dabs, and whacks by the *ōdikal* stick which have been described could not have been very obvious, because the medical officer, a subordinate of the government medical department, who held the post-

mortem, certified that death was due to inflammation of the lungs. Very likely he had suffered in that way. The local rainfall is very heavy. I have myself known fifty-two inches of rain to have been measured in three days on a coffee estate close by. Rain such as this, accompanied by a howling wind, is, perhaps, likely enough to affect the lungs of people who are almost unclothed, who even in the cosiest corner of their dwelling are only very partially protected from it. It is cold and damp to the last degree during the south-west monsoon in the Wynaad, which lies at an elevation of about 3000 feet above sea level. The autopsy was faulty. Death was certainly due to *ôdikal*. I was informed that a victim to *ôdikal* never, under any circumstances, lived after the eighth day. Death followed inevitably, and, as a rule, on the sixth or seventh day.

Having made sure of their victim's death, and feeling confident that he dare not, or at all events will not, disclose their names, his tormentors quietly return to their *pâdi*. The cock is sacrificed *inside* the hut, close to, but a little to one side of, the bundle of bamboo strips of which mention has been made already. Rice is cooked, and so is the fowl, and both are eaten. As a preliminary to the sacrifice, it should be said, some two or three of the strips are pegged out in the usual way. It is rather indefinite, but the Muppan appear to believe that in some way their ancestors take possession of their victim as soon as they have treated him to *ôdikal*. They have their ancestors "in mind" during the whole affair, and their victim would appear to be considered in the light of a sacrifice to them. But why in this extraordinary manner? It was extracted from them that *ôdikal* causes the blood to circulate the wrong way, and thus brings death. But, of course this belief offers no explanation why this peculiar method of taking an enemy's life should be resorted to. Let me add further that, should it by any means whatever become known to the family of the victim that he died by *ôdikal*, it is their solemn duty to

retaliate, beginning with the head man among the murderers, removing one every year. A regular vendetta begins in this way.

A few more words may not inappropriately be added on the death ceremonies of the Muppans.

When a man is at the point of death, a little rice and *rāgi* (a millet) are put into his mouth, and also a small silver coin, if one is available. The corpse is washed, and clothed with a fresh cloth. It is carried on a flat mat-like bier feet foremost through the door and all the way to the place of burning, where it is carried thrice round the funeral pyre before being placed upon it. Very likely the last-mentioned feature in the ceremony has been borrowed from the Hindus. Green logs of a certain tree (*valuga maram* in the vernacular), are used for consuming the body by fire. The head is placed towards the south. Fire is applied by the headman, while the relatives stand close by. When the body has been burnt, the widow gives to each person present a little rice, sprinkling it with water as she does so, and every one throws the rice on the burnt pyre. Any ornaments which may have been worn by the deceased, and which are of the commoner metals, (but never if of gold), are left untouched. Every one then leaves the place, walking to the *pādi* without looking back. The *pādi* may be in any direction, as it is immaterial on which side of it a corpse is cremated. As they enter the *pādi*, a bamboo vessel (Plate I.), containing water in which a little cow-dung is mingled, is placed conveniently, and every one, the headman leading, sprinkles a little of this mixture to right and left, while the last man sprinkles all that remains around the *pādi*. *Rāgi*, but not rice, is eaten on this day. *Rāgi*, it should be said, is the coarser commoner food of the two. On the following day no one works; they merely bathe, and their food consists of *rāgi* only. On the next day anything excepting fish may be eaten; and death-pollution is for the present at an end. The nearest of kin

to the deceased,—*e.g.* for a wife a husband, for a brother a brother, for a father a son,—allows his hair to grow until completion of the final ceremony which removes every trace of pollution and gives peace to the departed spirit. This growing of the hair is also probably an innovation borrowed from the Hindus.

The final ceremony may take place within a few days or after the lapse of months, for the governing factor is simply expense. Relations from other *pādis* are invited, and they may bring their friends. The opening day for this ceremony must be a Monday, on which day the people simply foregather and have a good feed. Next day all go to the spot where the corpse was burned. Some earth is strewn over the ashes, and, with the end of a stick, the full-length figure of a man is drawn. A hole to the depth of three feet is dug just over the head, and into it are put, (1), seven silver coins of small value, (or a small silver ornament if there are no coins to be had); (2), four bones which have been taken from the ashes, which are supposed to represent the hands and feet, and are washed; (3), a small quantity of rice and *rāgi*; and, (4), one of seven bundles of rice which have been prepared. The hole is covered over with leaves, and, in order to preserve its contents from contamination by falling earth, a small platform of sticks and stones is fixed above them. Upon this little platform are placed the six remaining small bundles of rice, earth is thrown in, and the hole is filled up. On the surface, there are placed small thorny branches, probably for the purpose of discouraging the dogs which, having to find their own living, might be inclined to dig up the food. When returning to the *pādi*, after bathing, the ceremony with the cow-dung water is again observed. Some rice is then cooked. The deceased's widow sits on the ground outside her hut, and beside her is placed a winnowing-basket in which is some of the cooked rice, and a bamboo vessel or a coco-nut shell containing water. A large mat is then placed right



over the woman, the winnowing-basket, and the vessel of water. She sprinkles the water, rises, and enters the house, where a quantity of food has been already prepared for the deceased. The headman distributes the cooked rice which was in the winnowing-basket to the visitors who are friends of the family, while the widow and the nearest relatives eat the food which is in the hut on behalf of the deceased. On the following *Uchál* day the deceased is represented by a strip of bamboo pegged out in the manner which has been already described.

F. FAWCETT.

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## “SNAKESTONES” AND STONE THUNDER- BOLTS AS SUBJECTS FOR SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION.

BY WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A.

*(Read at Meeting, June 28th, 1911.)*

IN a book published as lately as 1908 we read,—“ When we hear of the good or bad luck which is assumed to go with St. Cuthbert’s beads, (joints [or, as our geological friends insist we should call them, ossicles] of fossil encrinites), St. Peter’s fingers and thunderbolts (belemnites), Devil’s toe-nails (gryphaeas), and snakestones (ammonites), we might hastily conclude that the picturesque name has originated the belief. But fossils as charms or mascots form an ancient chapter in history and an unwritten chapter in pre-history.”<sup>1</sup>

The chapter in question is certainly unwritten, in the sense that, although an immense number of isolated details have been recorded about “fossil folklore” and celt superstitions, there has been no proper survey of the facts, and the object of this paper is simply to focus attention on this class of facts and on the system required for investigating them. We find, when we come to look into the matter, a far larger number of fossil forms which have given birth to folklore elements of various kinds than we could have believed possible. For example’s sake, let us take the foregoing list. We may add to what the author has said that the small fossil plates from the Farne Islands,

<sup>1</sup> W. Johnson, *Folk-Memory*, p. 148.

which are known as St. Boniface's pence (*S.B.'s pfennige*) in Germany, were called St. Cuthbert's beads at least as far back as the date of Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), and no doubt much earlier. Again, gryphites or "Devil's toe-nails," (called *clach crubain* in the tongue of old Gaul), are used in Scotland for pains in the joints, and, (perhaps in this case because they have a faint suggestiveness of the cloven hoof about them), are powdered, mixed with whey, and given as a drench to cattle. Another Liassic bivalve (*hippopodium*) is known as horses' or asses' feet to country people. The *pterygotus anglicus*, a kind of gigantic eurypterid or king-crab, leaves moulds or impressions covered with delicately-waved lines which in Scotland have been taken, according to Hugh Miller,<sup>2</sup> for the markings on the wings of cherubs or "seraphim." The remains of giant saurians, such as *plesiosaurus* and *ichthyosaurus*, have long been identified in the Whitby neighbourhood as the bones of angels, and a giant saurian found near Lake Constance in 1725 was, as is well known, identified by Scheuchzer as *Homo Diluvii Testis*. The teeth or bones of fossil elephants, mammoths, or mastodons are identified as giants' teeth or giants' bones,—*e.g.* in Yorkshire and at the famous Field of Giants at Sta Fé de Bogota. Ammonites and *nautili* again are regarded as snakestones or "ophiomorphites," "horns of Ammon," and so forth. But over and above all this is the large class of thunderbolts and thunderstones, which include the globular concretions of iron pyrites or marcasite, (also believed to be, according to Robinson, celestial cannon balls),<sup>3</sup> echini, belemnites, as well as other

<sup>2</sup> *The Old Red Sandstone* (1841), p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> F. K. Robinson, *A Glossary of . . . Whitby*, Part ii. (1876), *s.v.* Thunnersbolts. Mr. E. Lovett, in the discussion which followed the paper, contended that stone axes etc. were regarded as thunderbolts because of their cutting edge and belemnites because of their sharp point. To this may be added that the nodules referred to above were, because of their round shape, also taken for cannon balls, and that there was in ancient times an additional reason for the latter idea, because early cannon balls were often enough made of stone.

objects, some of which are in no sense organic remains, (such as stone axeheads, and arrowheads, etc.), but which are so closely interwoven in folklore with the former kinds that they cannot well be left out of account in discussing the general questions involved. In the present paper I propose more particularly to consider such folklore of our forefathers under two main headings,—(1) with regard to “snakestones” as a typical fossil belief, and (2) with regard to “thunderbolts” of various kinds, from fossils to artificially shaped stones, *e.g.* celts. A simple and unambitious programme as this may sound, the subject is of such vast dimensions that I can only deal with typical examples of each. We shall see that, though selected for different reasons, both classes of objects are alike used ceremonially.

We will begin with snakestones, of which I may first mention the precious stone or “jewel” which is believed either to come forth, like the toadstone, out of the head, or else to be carried in the mouth of a serpent, a most ancient belief not only in England but in the East. Secondly, I may mention the well-known “snake’s egg” of the Druids of Gaul, described by Pliny,<sup>4</sup> which Conybeare regards as probably being a Greensand fossil covered with *Ostrea sigillina*, and compares with the “gem” known as “adders’s glass,” thick green rings of which have been found in British barrows.<sup>5</sup> I may add that other authorities also believe it to have been a fossil, probably some kind of echinoderm. There are also other kinds of stone which for various reasons have been called after snakes, generally because they suggest certain parts of a snake’s body. Chief amongst these is perhaps a kind of marble called *ophites* from its having mottled markings like those on the skin of a snake, and there is also the well-known *serpentine*, which has long waved markings thought to suggest the curves of a snake’s body.

<sup>4</sup> Book xxix., cap. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in *Folk-Memory*, p. 148, from *Roman Britain*, pp. 70-1.

In *The Past at our Doors*<sup>6</sup> it is recorded that Henry III. had a great spit of gold, (such as was used in place of a fork at that date), in which an alleged "viper's tongue," (in the original Latin *lingua serpentina* or serpent's tongue), was set; this is a remarkably early example of a custom surviving to this day in the island of Malta, where certain small stones, coloured like the eyes, tongue, heart, or liver of serpents, found in the clay of the traditional cave of St. Paul, are still either set in rings and worn as a prophylactic against poison, or, more frequently, steeped in wine and drunk by the natives as an antidote for the same reason. In the case of Henry III., it seems but reasonable to suppose that the golden spit thus furnished was employed as a safeguard against the poisoning of his food,—a peril which, as history shows by many examples, was in those days never far removed from the uneasy wearers of our hard-kept Crown. It is only necessary to add that stones of the supposed serpent's tongue shape have been identified as fossil shark's teeth, and that their name of "snake's tongue" seems to go back to the Middle Ages.

The fact that such parts or supposed parts of a serpent were used as an antidote or safeguard against poison may be regarded as a striking instance of that sympathetic, or perhaps rather homœopathic, magic which is best known to us by the expression "a hair of the dog that bit you." On this principle the famous if revolting "viper-wine" or poison-antidote of ancient Venice, the ingredients of which included "vipers steeped alive in white wine, opium, spice, licorice, red roses, the juice of rough sloes, seeds of the treacle mustard," and many other abominations, the whole mixed with honey into a sort of drink, the origin of our modern "treacle," is perhaps the most extreme example conceivable.<sup>7</sup>

The remarkable belief, vouched for by Pliny,<sup>8</sup> upon which

<sup>6</sup> P. 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Book xxix., cap. 22.

rests the idea of using snakes or parts of snakes as a remedy for poison, was undoubtedly due to the fact that venomous serpents that had bitten people were believed to be commonly seized by, and even to die from, pangs of remorse! This method of curing a snakebitten person by virtue of the snake that bit him may finally be traced to the East, where we shall meet with a magnificent parallel in the customs of the Sinhalese, who, to protect themselves from snakebite, wear a picture of the king of the cobras tattooed on the right arm, recite a charm which identifies them with the serpent *king*, or carry a jewel which is supposed to be a serpent stone.<sup>9</sup> This example brings out, I think, more clearly than anything else could have done, what I believe to be the true explanation of all such practices, viz., that the person who is wounded, or fears to be wounded, either by making or claiming what I might call "blood brotherhood" with the object or animal feared, or otherwise, seeks to get sympathy from it. In this case, through kinship with the snake he virtually becomes a snake, or still better, as in the Ceylon charm just quoted, the king of snakes, and thus obtains the protection or relief that he is seeking.

A different kind of snakestone from either of the foregoing is the ammonite or *cornu ammonis*, of which an early mention, for Scotland, occurs under the name of *Lapis Ceranius*, or *Cerana Amonis*, under Strath and Trotterness, in M. Martin's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (p. 134) in 1703:—"These Stones are by the Natives [of Skye] called Crampstones, because as they say they cure the Cramp in Cows, by washing the part affected with Water in which this Stone has been steep'd for some Hours." I have as yet come across no earlier reference to the snakestone belief in Scotland or Ireland, and it can hardly occur as an indigenous belief

<sup>9</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., p. 161. Only I am inclined to doubt the explanation there given, as not explaining the facts sufficiently.

except where the ammonite-bearing strata are found. These strata in England are the Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks, lying roughly to the east of a line drawn from, say, Sidmouth to the mouth of the Tees; in Ireland the ammonites are confined to the north-east part of Ulster; in Scotland they are found in a few of the Western Isles and a patch on the north-east coast. There are some goniatites, allied to and generally resembling the ammonites, in the Carboniferous rocks, which have a wide range in central and north-west England, south Scotland, and a large part of Ireland; but these do not have the snaky look of ammonites, being plumper-looking and less evident in the strata, and hence less likely to have been noticed by our ancestors.

Passing to England, we read in the Whitby glossary<sup>10</sup> as follows:—

“Snakes, or Snakestones, the fossil Ammonites found with other petrifications in the Whitby lias or alum rock. These snakestones, according to tradition, were living serpents abounding in the neighbourhood before the coming of St. Hilda [a Latinized form of the Saxon “Hild”], their destroyer, who, with the aid of Oswy, the Saxon king of Northumbria, founded our [*i.e.* the Whitby] monastery in the 7th century, the place in those days being called Streonshealh [more accurately “Streones-healh” *i.e.* “Streon’s Nook” or “Corner”]. Previously to that time, according to Beda, Streonshealh was ‘a desert spot.’”

Mr. Robinson also refers to *Marmion*, ii. 13, and compares the following lines by Surtees:—

“Then sole amid the serpent tribe  
 The holy Abbess stood,  
 With fervent faith and uplift hands  
 Grasping the holy rood.  
 The suppliant’s prayer and powerful charm  
 Th’ unnumber’d reptiles own;  
 Each falling from the cliff, becomes  
 A headless coil of stone.”

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, part ii., *s.v.* Snakes, or Snakestones.

The passage in *Marmion* runs as follows :—

“ . . . Of thousand snakes, each one  
Was changed into a coil of stone,  
When holy Hilda pray'd ;  
Themselves, within their holy bound,  
Their stony folds had often found.”

But with regard to this reference, the important factor is not the oft-quoted, I had almost said “over-quoted,” text, as Mr. Robinson’s article suggests, but Sir Walter Scott’s own note (No. 26) upon it, to which he does not refer, but which is printed at the end of the volume, and runs as follows :—

“The relics of the snakes which infested the precincts of the convent and were, at the abbess’s prayer, not only beheaded, but petrified, are still found about the rocks and are termed by Protestant fossilists, *Ammonites*.”

The word “Protestant” is evidently meant to “conceal a jest” on the part of Sir Walter! This, however, is not the whole of the story, for, as Mr. G. C. Crick has pointed out in a recent paper,<sup>11</sup> as far back as 1818 James Sowerby figured in *The Mineral Conchology of Great Britain*<sup>12</sup> “an example of common Whitby ammonite<sup>13</sup> that had been furnished with a head.” Mr. Sowerby’s remarks upon this point are as follows :—

“The Ammonites are called in common [parlance] Snake-stones, and superstition has accounted for their having been found constantly without heads, saying, the curse of St. Cuthbert [the local saint] was the cause of it ; but as some of the dealers felt it a possible inconvenience, they were determined to be less barbarous, and compassionately supplied some with heads. I was so curious as to desire to see what sort of heads might be substituted, and Lady Wilson kindly procured me a specimen

<sup>11</sup> *Naturalist*, April 1st, 1910.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. ii., part 19, p. 10 ; Plate 107, (Fig. 2).

<sup>13</sup> *Ammonites communis* = *dactylioceras commune*.



when at Whitby. I have figured that specimen for the information of others; see fig. 2."

This fossil is now, Mr. Crick informs us, in the British Museum Collection<sup>14</sup>; it is not so large as the figure in the March number of the *Naturalist* for 1910. The practice of supplying heads to the Whitby ammonites was also mentioned in the *Geologist* for 1858,<sup>15</sup> and again as late as 1885 by J. E. Taylor, who, in *Our Common British Fossils and Where to Find Them*,<sup>16</sup> remarks that

"they are found in blue nodules, which, when broken open, reveal the coiled-up ringed shell, wonderfully resembling a snake in such species as *Ammonites communis*, and still more wonderfully resembling one when they put a "head" on, with eyes in—as they sometimes do."

Mr. Crick also mentions another example in the British Museum that has been provided with a head, the nose being much more pointed than in Sowerby's example, and much more closely resembling the specimen figured in the *Naturalist*: this was added to the national collection in 1859. I am told as an interesting fact that small specimens of ammonites, set in gold, (though, I believe, without the head), are worn as pendants by the lady students of St. Hilda's College, a boarding-house at Cheltenham, which I understand is on the same foundation with a similar institution at Oxford. A curious anecdote which should not be omitted here is that the well-known Sussex geologist Gideon Mantell (1790-1858) obtained the inspiration which launched him on his geological career from an ammonite or snakestone, which as a boy he happened to see lying in the clear waters of a shallow stream that ran into the Sussex Ouse; this fact is vouched for by Lower, the Sussex historian, and I may add that ammonites in this neighbourhood are still "snakestones" in popular Sussex parlance.

We have seen that the story of the (headless) snake-

<sup>14</sup> No. 43,895a.

<sup>15</sup> P. III, in a note by S. J. Mackie.

<sup>16</sup> Pp. 313-4.

stone was known in 1815, and was also used by Sir Walter Scott. We can, however, go further back still, for Alban Butler, in his *Life of St. Hilda or Hild, Abbess of Whitby*,<sup>17</sup> remarks:—

“The common people formerly imagined that St. Hilda changed serpents into stones in this place, because on the face of the cliff were found abundance of stones which have the appearance of serpents or snakes rolled up, or in their coil, but without heads; which are natural stones called Ammonitæ; and are still plentiful there. . . . The Ammonitæ and many others are natural stones; but others seem clearly petrifications of fish, serpents, shrubs, etc. as Woodward shows, which Mead was not able to disprove.”

Now Woodward the geologist lived from 1665 to 1728, which shows us that the belief cannot have been altogether modern; and we are taken yet one step further back by a reference in the second part of Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1622, Song 28), in which he remarks with reference to Whitby:—

“And stones like Serpents there, yet may yee more behold  
That in their natural Gyres are up together rold.”

The other great centre in England round which the snakestone legend centres is Keynsham, in Somersetshire. The general form of the legend is very similar to that which is current at Whitby. The Rev. J. Mitford is quoted by J. E. Harting, the editor of White's *The Natural History etc. of Selborne*,<sup>18</sup> for a “fabulous legend which says that St. Keyna, from whom [as he erroneously supposes] the place [Keynsham] takes its name, resided here in a solitary wood, [which we miss in the Whitby versions], full of venomous serpents, and her prayers converted them into stones, which still retain their shape.” White himself, in his immortal work, (which appeared in 1789), calls them *cornua ammonis* or ammon's horns, and John Walcott<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Lives of the Fathers etc.*, vol. i. (1838), p. 897.

<sup>18</sup> P. 9 (1876).

<sup>19</sup> Walcott, *Descriptions and Figures of Petrifications Found in the Quarries, Gravel-Pits, etc. Near Bath*, p. 31.

(1779) says, of Keynsham, "formerly the credulous inhabitants of this Village believed these Snake-stones to have been real serpents, changed into stone by one Keina, a devout British virgin." Alban Butler's version of this belief <sup>20</sup> is as follows:—

"St. Keyna, Virgin. . . . St. Keyna, surnamed by the Welch, *The Virgin*, who lived a recluse in a wood in Somersetshire, . . . near the town of Cainsham, which seems so called from her, and stands on the Avon not far from Bristol. Spiral stones in the figure of serpents have been found in that country, which some of the people pretend to have been serpents turned into stones by her prayers. They seem either petrifications or sports of nature in uncommon crystallizations in a mineral soil."

I may remark here that this version of the legend is more important than the Whitby one, for Butler gives as his authority for the turning of serpents into stone Camden's *Britannia*, which takes us back at once to the Elizabethan period. The passage in Camden's *Britannia*, when translated, runs as follows:—

"Here (at Whitby) are found certain stones, in the form of serpents rolled up into a spiral, the marvels of Nature in her sportive mood . . . You would believe them to have once been serpents that have been covered by a stony cuticle. But superstition attributes them to the prayers of Hilda."<sup>21</sup>

This quotation shows that the belief was a matter of general report as far back as the year 1586, but a different passage from Camden bearing upon the same subject is quoted by Plot in *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*. This second passage adds the important information that Camden believed himself to have seen another kind of snakestone, the head of which projected at its circumference, while its tail was rolled up in the

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. x., p. 607.

<sup>21</sup> "*Lapides hic inveniuntur, serpentium in spiram revolutorum effigie, naturæ ludentis miracula . . . serpentes olim fuisse crederes, quos lapideus cortex intexisset. Hildæ autem precibus adscribit credulitas,*" (Camden, p. 419).

centre.<sup>22</sup> To this Plot adds that Camden "and since him [a certain] Dr. Childrey plainly avouch that the *Ophiomorpha*'s of *Cainslam* have some of them heads, and that in *this* they differ from those of *York-shire*," of the story concerning whose heads Plot was at this time apparently ignorant.

That there are special geological reasons why this particular belief may not only be ancient but of remotest antiquity, the following account of the life-history of the ammonite (from the time of its appearance in the Devonian formation) will show :—

"It is an interesting fact that the very earliest Ammonites were straight, and gradually became closely coiled. This form was maintained almost constant throughout the vast periods of the Mesozoic age, till towards the end [in the Cretaceous period], when the whole race was about to die out, they seemed to try to go back to their original form, which some almost reached (Fig. 105), while others, as Professor Judd remarks (in a letter), "before finally disappearing, twisted and untwisted themselves, and as it were wriggled themselves into extraordinary shapes, in the last throes of dissolution." These strange forms (Figs. 96-106) are reproduced from Nicholson's *Palaeontology*, and there are many others. . . . The two species figured . . . from the Trias (Figs. 99, 100) may be taken as typical; but the variations in surface pattern are almost infinite."<sup>23</sup>

It is certain that any chance local discovery of any such uncoiled forms as those just described would materially help to reinforce the popular belief that ammonites were petrified serpents; and it also seems impossible that in the course of centuries such discoveries should not have happened. I should, however, add, in case of misappre-

Gibson, the Translator of Camden (1722), adds that Nicholson called them *cornu ammonis*.

<sup>22</sup> This second passage from Camden, as quoted by Plot (p. 116), says :—  
"Vidimus enim lapidem hinc delatum serpentis in spiram revoluti effigie, cujus caput in circumferentia prominuit, extrema cauda centrum occupante."

<sup>23</sup> A. R. Wallace, *The World of Life*, pp. 267-9, Figs. 99-106.

hension, that the description of these ammonites as coiling or uncoiling themselves has reference only to growth of the shell, and not to any conscious effort in the lifetime of any individual specimen, although this distinction would hardly suggest itself to our remote ancestors. But I understand that one of the most recent theories has reference to what I may call the possession of a terminable life-history by a genus, which is regarded as normally following a course roughly analogous to the birth, life, and death of an individual. The question here naturally suggests itself: Is it conceivable that early man, considering the extent to which his faculties must have been absorbed in the struggle for existence, should have paid any attention whatever to such things as fossils? Whatever may or may not be conceivable, there is, I think, unmistakable evidence that he did. In the first place, General Pitt-Rivers, during his excavations at Rotherly (Wilts) and Woodcuts (Dorset) reported that he came upon an altogether unnatural number of the flint echinoderms or sea-urchins in the surface soil, as well as in the pit-dwellings themselves. His conclusion was that these fossils, being conspicuous, must have been noticed by the early inhabitants of the villages, who had evidently collected them with great industry, and his purely provisional suggestion was that these fossils were used as a species of currency. There are, however, better reasons for thinking that they were employed as almost any very odd-looking stones to this day would be used by less civilized races in all parts of the world, *i.e.* on account of some fancied magical virtue. One fact distinctly pointing in this direction is given by Sir B. C. A. Windle, in his *Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England*,<sup>24</sup> where there is an illustration showing the plan of a double interment in a round barrow on Dunstable Downs, where a triple row of chalk echinoderms runs completely round the interment.

<sup>24</sup> P. 145, Fig. 60.

To return to modern times, James Sowerby (1818) gives us an amusing anecdote of the Rev. W. Buckland, who, "having found a large specimen, was induced by his ardour to carry it himself, although of considerable weight, and being on horseback it was not the less inconvenient; but the inner whorls being gone so as to allow his head and shoulder to pass through, he placed it as a French horn is sometimes carried, above one shoulder and under the other, and thus rode with his friendly companions, who amused him by dubbing him an *Ammon Knight*." <sup>25</sup>

It is interesting to be able to add that the specimen thus honoured was the original specimen of *ammonites Bucklandi*, and that it came from one of the many quarries in the Lower Lias limestone of Pennycuick, near Tiverton, Weston, Keynsham, and other places near Bath.

All these snakestones are much of the same kind, but another Elizabethan, Richard Carew, in *The Survey of Cornwall* (first ed. 1602), gives us a snakestone of a different kind. His account runs (p. 21):—

"The countrey people retaine a conceite, that the *Snakes* by their breathing about a hazell wand, doe make a stone ring of blew colour,<sup>26</sup> in which there appeareth the yellow figure of a *Snake*; and that beasts which are stung, being given to drink of the water wherein this stone has bene socked, will therethrough recover. There was such a one bestowed on me, and the giver avowed to have seene a part of the stick sticking in it: but *Penes authorem* [sic ? *auctorem*] *sit fides!*" <sup>27</sup>

But the bridge over which most unmistakably we travel

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> I asked Mr. Woodward if he could explain this, and he tells me that these snakestones, which may have come either from Whitby or Lyme Regis, are in many cases found in nodules of blue Lias limestone, which when split would disclose the ammonite within, perhaps a yellow or ochreous specimen, with the ring of blue limestone round it.

<sup>27</sup> From *The Survey of Cornwall, written by Richard Carew, of Antonic, Esq.*: quoted by Parkinson, *Organic Remains of a Former World*, vol. iii., p. 134, who remarks "among the notions which have been entertained respecting these fossils, none is more curious."

back to immemorial antiquity is a passage of Pliny, which in Holland's translation (p. 627) is given as under:—

“The pretious stone called Hammons-horne, is reckoned among the most sacred gemms of Aethiopia: of a gold colour it is, and sheweth the forme of a rams horne: the magicians promise, that by the vertue of this stone, there will appeare dreames in the night which represent things to come.”<sup>28</sup>

Upon this passage Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie comments to me, in a letter of June 24th, 1911, that the reference in Pliny “evidently refers to pyrites casts of ammonites which are found from Lias up to Chalk.” Professor Petrie adds that he does not know of such late strata in Ethiopia, and that he has never found an ammonite in any Egyptian tomb or ruin. But he informs me that there *is* a coiled serpent amulet with head and tail, which is sometimes found in the prehistoric age in Egypt. This, he says “might be deduced from an ammonite, just as people in Wiltshire [and, as we have already seen, in other parts of England for centuries past] used to carve heads on the great ammonites and call them serpent stones.”

It remains to add some particulars of a most remarkable parallel to Pliny in the snakestone belief of India. For it has been conclusively shown that the *Salagrama*, a celebrated mystic emblem of Brahman ritual in north-west India, which is considered to be the embodiment of Vishnu, is in reality a specimen of black ammonite. After describing how the *tulasi* or “Holy Basil,” which is considered (*inter alia*) to be an embodiment of Krishna's wife Rukmini, is annually married in November to the god Krishna in every Hindu family, Mr. Frazer proceeds:<sup>29</sup>—

<sup>28</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvii., cap. 60. Mr. A. B. Cook writes to me that, according to Eratosthenes, quoted by Strabo (l. i, cap. 3, s. 4), the precinct of Zeus Ammon (the oasis of Siwah), which is a deep depression, is strewn with shells and a salt deposit. He infers that this oracle became famous while still a coast-town on the arm of a vanished sea. The shells, Mr. Cook thinks, are *asterites*.

<sup>29</sup> Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 157-8.

"Again, as the wife of Vishnu, the holy basil is married to the *Salagrama*, a black fossil ammonite resembling a ram's horn, which is regarded as an embodiment of Vishnu. In North-Western India this marriage of the plant to the fossil has to be performed before it is lawful to taste of the fruit of a new orchard. . . . [a man personating the fossil bridegroom and a woman the basil bride]. Further, no well is considered lucky until the holy fossil has been solemnly wedded to the holy basil, which stands for the garden that the well is intended to water. . . . The same marriage of the sacred fossil to the sacred plant is celebrated annually by the Rajah of Orchha at Ludhaura. A former Rajah used to spend a sum equal to about thirty thousand pounds . . . on the ceremony. On one occasion over a hundred thousand people are said to have been present at the rite, and to have been feasted at the expense of the Rajah. The procession consisted of eight elephants, twelve hundred camels and four thousand horses, all mounted and elegantly caparisoned. The most sumptuously decorated of the elephants carried the fossil god to pay his bridal visit to the little shrub goddess. On such an occasion all the rites of a regular marriage are performed, and afterwards the newly-wedded pair are left to repose together in the temple till the next year."

A fuller account is given in the same author's *Golden Bough*. He adds that a draught of the water in which the shell has been washed is supposed to purge away all sin and secure temporal welfare.<sup>30</sup> These fossils are found in Nepaul on the upper Gandaka, a tributary of the Ganges. Hence the district is called Salagrami, and is considered holy, and an object of pilgrimage. In a letter of May 26th, 1911, Mr. W. Crooke wrote me:—

"The *Salagrama*, to which numerous references are given by Frazer in his new *Golden Bough* (Pt. i., ii., 26 f.) is undoubtedly a very ancient "fetish." It was specially adopted as a symbol of

<sup>30</sup> Vol. ii., pp. 26-7 (3rd ed.). Cf. Carew, p. 57 *ante*. I may add that Mr. E. Lovett has informed me of two cases in which ammonites were carried by fishermen to bring luck in fishing,—one at Oban and the other at Folkestone, the ammonites themselves being called fish at the latter place.



the god by the Vaishnava school, worshippers of Vishnu, a cult which seems to have been organized after the downfall of Buddhism. The earliest reference I can quote to it is from the *Mahābhārata*, which seems to have assumed something like its present form in or after the 5th century B.C. The words used (*Mahābhārata*, trans. Kisari Mohan Ganguli, vol. iv., p. 128), are "the stony image of Vishnu, with gold within."

It will be seen at once that the description here given of the ammonite of Vishnu is in one respect strikingly reminiscent of the description of Pliny, *i.e.* in regard to the observation made by him as to its "golden colour."

It only remains to consider whether there is any recognition from Indian sources of the coiled snake idea which has been familiar for so long a period in England and other parts of Western Europe. I think on the whole that we can say there is, for Mr. Crooke kindly writes to me:—

"The story told is that the fossil was Vishnu through which the Destroyer, as a worm, wound his way. It appears to me possible (1) that the word worm may be here used in its old English double sense of worm or serpent, and (2) that Siva, if anything, represents the worm and not Vishnu, who represents the stone."

Another of the widely-spread beliefs of our peasantry is the belief that the prehistoric stone implements found in all parts of the country, generally speaking, are "thunderbolts": indeed the best-known stone superstition is that the celt was a thunderbolt. Johnson rather uncritically remarks,—“That the various kinds of fossil belemnites, as well as the rounded concretions of iron pyrites from the Lower Chalk are also called thunderbolts, matters little. Gods, fairies, witches, and other like beings, have divers weapons for afflicting the ignorant peasant, bowed low in his fear.”<sup>31</sup> It really matters a good deal! But I shall first take the various kinds in succession.

<sup>31</sup> *Folk-Memory*, p. 125.

First, as to the belemnite, the Scottish geologist Hugh Miller, in *The Old Red Sandstone*,<sup>32</sup> remarks that he

"was told by one of the workmen . . . that there was a part of the shore . . . where curiously-shaped stones, somewhat like the heads of boarding-pikes, were occasionally picked up; and that in his father's days the country people called them thunder-bolts, and deemed them of sovereign efficacy in curing bewitched cattle." [On visiting the spot Miller] "found one of the supposed *aërolites*" [he] "had come in quest of, firmly imbedded in a mass of shale." [It proved to be a belemnite.]

Again, the earliest Scottish mention I have been able to find is in 1703, when Martin, in *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*,<sup>33</sup> speaking of Strath and Trotterness in Skye, remarks:—

"The *Velumnites*, (*sic*) grows likewise in these Banks of Clay, some of 'em are twelve Inches long, and tapering towards one end, the Natives call them *Bat* [*i.e.* "Bot"] *Stones*, because they believe them to cure the Horses of the Worms which occasion that Distemper, by giving them Water to drink in which this Stone has been Steeped for some Hours."

There is of course no mention here of thunderbolts.

At Whitby, according to Robinson,<sup>34</sup> the term thunderbolt applied to "the petrified remains of a kind of cuttle-fish, in the Whitby Lias, resembling tubes of various lengths and thicknesses tapering to a point." The comparison here made between the "thunderbolt" of this kind and a tube is not quite accurate, since a tube is generally considered to be hollow, whereas these fossils are, with the exception of a small and shallow cavity at the upper end, perfectly solid, and may be more suitably compared to a cigar than to a tube. I may add that the Greek *Belemnion*, whence they get their name, means dart or javelin, and is connected with the verb "*ballein*," to cast.

<sup>32</sup> Pp. 10-3 (1841 ed.).

<sup>33</sup> P. 134.

<sup>34</sup> *A Glossary of . . . Whitby*, part ii., s.v. Thunner-bolts.

So, too, in J. Walcott (1779) we read that "the *Belemnite* receives its English name *thunder-bolt* from the vulgar, who suppose it to be indeed the darts of heaven."<sup>35</sup> The earliest mention, however, that I have been able to find is in R. Plot,<sup>36</sup> (1677), who says that from their form by all naturalists they are called belemnites, "from the Greek word *βέλεμνον telum*, which indeed some of them represent pretty well."

Again, J. H. Macalister writes<sup>37</sup> :—

"Mr. A. C. G. Cameron has informed me that Belemnites from the Oxford clay, south of Bedford, are ground up and used for sore eyes, also that when pounded, they are considered by the villagers of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire an excellent cure for rheumatism."

Again, in Gloucestershire belemnites from the Lias were used to cure watery affections of the eyes of the horse; the fossil was pulverized and the dust blown into the animal's eyes.<sup>38</sup>

Turning to the extreme south of England, Mr. Lovett states that at Lyme Regis the belemnites of the Lias are hardly ever called by any other name but thunderbolts, and adds that it is a curious fact that in localities where the belemnites are not found the people, if shown any such things, not only do not regard them as thunderbolts, but ignore them as being "nothing."

Beyond remarking that, according to Parkinson,<sup>39</sup> they were also called "Devil's fingers," I shall not here follow up this question of the belemnite beliefs, but I may remark

<sup>35</sup> *Descriptions and Figures of Petrifications Found in the Quarries, Gravel-Pits, etc. Near Bath*, p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> *Geologist*, vol. iv., p. 215.

<sup>38</sup> J. Woodward, *An Attempt towards the Natural History of Fossils etc.* (1729), vol. i. p. 109.

<sup>39</sup> Parkinson, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 122, where he also remarks that they are also called *lapides lyncis*, owing to their supposed origin from the urine of the lynx, and cites Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, lib. xv., v. 413.

that they may be expected to correspond roughly, in regard to their distribution, with the geological distribution of the belemnite-bearing strata. These occur in the south of England, as far west as Dorset, in all the south-eastern counties, and in eastern counties as far north as the Tees ; also in the north of Scotland (Cromarty Firth), and the north-east of Ireland. They do not occur in Wales.

Allusion has already been made to the fact that the *echinus* was noticed and employed for some apparently magical or quasi-religious purpose by prehistoric inhabitants of these islands. The only question that remains is what that purpose could be, and unfortunately this is not very clear. On the one hand we have the fact that the so-called "snake's egg" of the Druids has been considered to be an *echinus*. On the other, various species of the genus *micraster*, which are popularly called fairy loaves, are still treasured by the labourer of modern Essex, who believes his household will never want bread so long as he retains one.<sup>40</sup> Again, Mr. G. W. Lamplugh informs me that he once had a fossil echinoderm, said to be a lucky stone and to have been used for making butter come, brought him for identification in south-west Ireland, the nearest chalk being in Antrim.

Last, but not least, the *echinus* is recorded by Plot<sup>41</sup> to have been called a thunderbolt by the country people, no doubt from the rough resemblance of some specimens in shape to the nodules of iron pyrites, which are also so called.

The belief in what I may call the keraunic origin of the stone axehead and arrowhead has often been described as if it were universal in these islands, but, although it would be a matter of considerable labour and time, it would, no doubt, be possible to show that the alleged universality of the belief has been over-stated.

In Scotland there was a long list of ailments which

<sup>40</sup> *Folk-Memory*, p. 149.

<sup>41</sup> *Op cit.*, p. 93.

could be cured by the "arrowhead." The water in which it had been boiled was good for eye diseases and for the pangs of childbirth; it was also valued by the cattle-doctor, down to the present generation.<sup>43</sup> Both are called thunderbolts, but the Rev. J. G. Campbell, who is quoted by Johnson in connection with stone arrowheads, described one of these objects as a smooth, slippery black stone, shaped like the sole of a shoe, and called it a "fairy spade."<sup>44</sup> There seems, however, to have been some confusion here, for obviously this stone from the description of its shape is our familiar stone axehead. A Scotch gentleman, writing in 1664, relates how a lady who was riding one day discovered one of these arrowheads or elfbolts in the breast of her habit, and how a horseman found one which had been placed by a fairy in the top of his riding-boot. Robert Kirk (1691) in his *Secret Commonwealth* describes these "Armes (solid earthly Bodies)" as "cut by Airt and Tools it seems beyond humane," and as having "something of the Nature of Thunderbolt subtilty."<sup>45</sup> "They are flung like a Dairt, with great Force, and mortally wound the vital Parts without breaking the Skin."<sup>46</sup> Again, mounted in frames, small arrowheads were worn as amulets around the necks of Scottish ladies. A specially good example of this<sup>47</sup> was the old-time witch-brooch, a little silver heart formerly pinned to the child's underclothing at its first dressing by the peasantry of Aberdeenshire. The shape is believed to have been derived from its being originally the mounting of an elf-shot or fairy dart, *i.e.* flint arrowhead. An old man in Kincardineshire thirty years ago had a "fairy dart" as a safeguard against witchcraft. Lastly, we may add one special use of the stone arrowhead in the witchcraft of Scotland. They were used in

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Sir J. Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements etc. of Great Britain*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

<sup>44</sup> *Folk-Memory*, p. 122.

<sup>45</sup> P. 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Folk-Memory*, p. 124.

<sup>47</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xx., pp. 231-2.

preference to metal to pierce or cut the wax or clay images which were once commonly used to represent the intended victims of the rites in question.

Turning to Ireland, we find that there, too, the medicinal use of the flint arrowhead has long been known, for two centuries ago (in 1709) we find mention<sup>48</sup> of a "thunderbolt or head of a spear" from Kerry, and down to 1865 the Irish continued to put celts in the troughs at which they watered their cattle, and in county Antrim neolithic flint arrowheads are used as amulets.<sup>49</sup> In the north of Ireland generally, where polished diorite celts are often turned out of the ground, Mr. Lovett states that there was a time when every cottage kept one on the rafter as a safeguard against lightning.

Of Whitby, Robinson has stated that the ancient British flint "arrow-points" were called "elf-shots," that cattle suddenly excited were formerly supposed to be shot at with these implements by the fairies, and that to cure an "elf-shotten" animal it must be touched with one of these arrows, and the water administered in which an arrow has been dipped.<sup>50</sup> And Johnson quotes Dr. Hickes, in a letter to Pepys (1700), as describing these elf-bolts, clearly believing that they were driven straight to the hearts of cattle.<sup>51</sup> Sir J. Evans states that in the north of England the celt is called a thunderbolt, and in the west country a thunder-axe. Again, in Cornwall, as elsewhere generally, the celt was boiled in water, which was used as a remedy against rheumatism.<sup>52</sup> Of course, if there were any object in doing so, such facts could be indefinitely multiplied, but the important thing to note is that Mr. Lovett has stated that he knows places in England where such "thunderbolts" as tangible objects are quite unknown. The earliest

<sup>48</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., p. 7.

<sup>50</sup> *A Glossary of . . . Whitby*, part i., s.v. Awfshots.

<sup>51</sup> *Folk-Memory*, p. 124.

<sup>52</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

English reference that I have been able to find is from the Oxfordshire naturalist, Plot, who in 1677 wrote<sup>53</sup> that

"besides the *Brontiaë* [*i.e.* thunderbolts] of the Forreign *Naturalists* we have others, which here in *England* we call likewise *Thunderbolts*, in the form of *arrows heads*, and thought by the vulgar to be indeed the darts of *Heaven*."

This statement, (which seems to be the source of Walcott's remark), is the more remarkable since along with these arrowheads he identifies as *Brontiaë* the fossil echinoderms, to which reference has already been made. After speaking of selenites and other stones which he considered to be "some way related to the Celestial Bodies," Plot proceeds<sup>54</sup>:—

"I descend next to such as (by the *vulgar* at least) are thought to be sent us from the *inferior Heaven*, to be generated in the *clouds*, and discharged thence in the time of *thunder* and *violent showers*: for which very reason, and no other that we know of, the ancient *Naturalists* coined them suitable names, and called such as they were pleased to think fell in the *Thunder*, *Brontiaë*; and those that fell in *showers*, by the name of *Ombriaë* ... [of which] we have several sorts in *Oxford-shire*."

I may also mention that Sir J. Evans<sup>55</sup> gives the best account of their distribution I have been able to find. After describing their distribution in Great Britain and Ireland, he proceeds to give an account of their distribution on the Continent, giving examples from Brittany and other parts of France, Savoy, various parts of Scandinavia, (where celts inscribed with runes occur), Germany, Holland, Portugal, Italy, and Greece. In the last country they are called *astropelekia*, and Sir John states that, about 1081, the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus sent to the Emperor Henry III. of Germany ἀστροπέλεκυν δεδεμένον μετὰ χρυσαφίου, *i.e.* probably a celt of meteoric origin

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>54</sup> P. 90.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

mounted in gold. Sir J. Evans, I may add, traces back this keraunic belief about celts in Greece to about 2000 years before our time.

So far do our modern facts take us, but this in itself is only the beginning. A little research will show us that there is unquestionable evidence as to the immense antiquity of this "elf-shot" idea in English. In Cockayne's *Leechdoms etc.*<sup>56</sup> we find a very remarkable Anglo-Saxon incantation "Against the Stitch," of which I shall here give a literal rendering. The spell begins, as is so very frequently the case, with a sort of rubric, which recited the objects to be used in the charm for which the incantation is to be sung, and describes the method of their application. This rubric, which I propose to take first, runs as follows:—

"Take fever-few and the red nettle which grows in the yard, and "way-bread," and boil them in butter."

"Fever-few" is an Anglo-Saxon name for the well-known plant *pyrethrum parthenium*, and is borrowed from the Latin *febrifugia*, a febrifuge or "fever-chaser." The "red nettle" is familiar enough, and "way-bread" is the plantain, a strange Anglo-Saxon name that has survived right on down to modern English, but the real meaning of which is not, as might be supposed, "*bread* that grows by the way," but "way-broad," or more strictly speaking, "way-breadth," a fact that will be evident as soon as we recall its modern German equivalent *Wege-breit*, even were it not that the application of "broad" or "breadth" to the leaves of the plantain in itself has an application that is perfectly fitting. These three ingredients, then, fever-few, the red nettle, and the plantain, were to be boiled in butter, no doubt for external application to the real or supposed wound in the form of a poultice. It is at this point that the magician begins his incantation:—

<sup>56</sup> Vol. iii., p. 52.



"They [that is the enemy] were noisy, yea noisy,  
 When they rode over the burial-mound [or barrow].  
 They were of one mind when they rode over the land.  
 [Then to the patient] Shield thyself now, that thou mayest  
 recover from this attack.  
 'Out, little spear!'—if it be herein."

Here this particular charm ends, and another begins, which is evidently given either as a reinforcement of the preceding one or, as would seem more probable from the wording, as a reply to be made either by the patient himself, or, as is usual, on behalf of the patient by the medicine-man himself:—

"I stood under the shield,      Under the light shield,  
 Where the mighty wives [*i.e.* witches]  
 Made ready their strength [*i.e.* prepared for the contest].  
 And they, yelling, sent forth their spears [gar].  
 I will send back upon them      Another flying arrow,  
 Right in front.      'Out, little spear!' if it be herein."

Here again follows a new charm, which runs:—

"There sat a Smith,      He wrought a little 'sax';  
 He hammered the iron head;  
 'Out, little spear!'—if it be herein."

Now comes what seems to me by far the most important and striking lines of the entire scene:—

"Six smiths sat, and they wrought spears of slaughter.  
 'Out, spear!' not 'In, spear!'  
 If there be herein a piece of iron which is the work of the hag,  
     it shall melt.  
 [Turning to the patient] If thou wert shot in the skin,  
 Or if thou wert shot in the flesh,  
 Or wert shot in the blood,      Or wert shot in a limb,  
 Never let thy life be injured.      If it were a shot of the gods [Aesir],  
 Or if it were a *shot of the elves*,  
 Or if it were a shot of the hag,      Now will I help thee.  
 This is thy remedy against the shot of the gods,

This is thy remedy against the *shot of the elves*,

This is thy remedy against the shot of the hag,

I will help thee !

[To the evil spirits] Flee to the mountain-head !

[To the patient] Whole be thou, The Lord help thee !”

This magnificent incantation concludes here with the rubric “Here take the knife (*seax*), and put it in water,”—no doubt for the purpose of immediate administration. The knife was dipped into water, and the water drunk by the patient, in the very same way that water in which a stone implement has been dipped is to this day medicinally drunk not only, as I myself am aware, by the Malays, but by very many other races in the earlier stages of culture. The word *sax* or *seax* is of especial interest. The Anglo-Saxon form was *seax*, the Mercian *sax*, and they are both not borrowed from but cognate with the Latin *saxum*, which even in Latin meant a weapon, (as in Vergil, *Aeneid*, Bk. I.—*jamque faces, et saxa volant*). It may well be that originally to the Anglo-Saxons, as well as to the Romans, *saxum* was once a stone, but of this stage there is no trace in Anglo-Saxon, whereas “stone” is the quite regular and usual meaning of the word in Latin, the records of which go back to nearly 1000 years earlier than our existing Anglo-Saxon records, the date of these particular charms being perhaps about the tenth century.

So in the Icelandic legend of Gylfaginning, one of Thor’s three precious things is the hammer “that giants and ogres know well, when it comes flying through the air,” and this hammer is believed by Montelius<sup>57</sup> to have been a development from the sun-god’s axe, a fact which brings these old Scandinavian beliefs very near to those contained in our own English charms. It only remains to consider why the stone celt or other weapon was used as a remedy for anyone who had been wounded by a similar weapon. I believe the true reason for this to be precisely

<sup>57</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., pp. 60-78.

identical with the reason for curing a snake-bitten man by the snake that bit him, *i.e.* that the patient by entering, so to speak, into 'blood-brotherhood' with the offending weapon, obtained relief. For we must remember that to them the weapon, like other inert objects, would yet be animate, as I shall hereafter show.

For classical times Mr. A. B. Cook may be relied upon,<sup>58</sup> but Sir J. Evans quotes a remarkable passage referring to celts in Suetonius, who mentions, as an augury of Galba's accession to the throne, that lightning fell into a lake in Cantabria and 12 axes were found, "a by no means ambiguous omen of empire," (*Galba*, viii. c. 4).

With regard to the rest of Europe, those who wish may refer to Montelius,<sup>59</sup> who traces the axe cult back to Perun, the god of thunder in Slavonia, and to Stone-Age examples in Ancient Gaul, Greece, and Scandinavia, where the thunder-god's hammer was developed among natives who were familiar, or had been very recently familiar, with the use of stone implements. We should hardly have expected, therefore, to find it in either North or South America, though according to Evans<sup>60</sup> it does occur in Brazil, which is a country that can hardly be considered free from European influence. The examples given by Tylor are not examples of flint implements being so regarded, but of natural stones (of flint etc.). He states, for instance, that

"the lightning entering that ground scatters in all directions thunder-bolt stones, which are flints, etc., their reason for this notion being the very natural one, that these siliceous stones actually produce a flash when struck."<sup>61</sup>

After giving several examples which have no direct

<sup>58</sup> See "The Cretan Axe-cult outside Crete," *The Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. ii., pp. 184-94; cf. also Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*.

<sup>59</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., pp. 60-78.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>61</sup> *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 238 (2nd ed.).

bearing on thunder-bolts, Tylor proceeds to describe the Peruvian belief about a deity called Catequil the Thunder-god, child of the Heaven-god, who in thunder-clap and flash hurls from his sling the small, round, smooth thunder-stones, treasured in the villages as fire-fetishes and charms, to kindle the flame of love. It will be observed here that Catequil's thunderbolts are also but stones, and certainly not stone implements.

Information as to the keraunic axehead seems, for whatever reason, very slight for China. We must hope that fuller information will turn up. Sir J. Evans<sup>62</sup> states that in China celts are called lightning stones, (which suggests the keraunic belief), but Professor Giles, in a letter of May 25th, 1911, wrote to me:—

“Although there is a large literature of stones, including meteorites, talismans, auspicious stones, etc., to be found in Chinese, I know of no instances of stone implements such as those you mention having been used in China. The earliest ploughshares, for instance, were made of wood. Stone has been employed for pestles and mortars, since early days, but apparently not for cutting implements.”

For the existence of the belief in Japan, we have the authority of Montelius<sup>63</sup> and Evans.<sup>64</sup>

A similarly disappointing result is obtained from Egypt, with regard to which Professor Flinders Petrie wrote to me on May 21st:—

“There is an abundance of stone implements in Egypt, of all periods. But I do not know that any beliefs about them existed either with reference to powdering them or as to a thunderbolt origin. The only suggestion to the contrary, which has come from Professor Newberry, of Liverpool, is, I understand, to the effect that belemnites occurring in the Eocene limestone at Ekhmein in Upper Egypt *may* have been regarded as a thunderbolt, and may have suggested the standard of the god Min. The

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53; cf. Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8.

<sup>63</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., p. 60.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

question as to whether in this particular example we have a true thunderbolt belief, or merely one founded on European analogies, is a question upon which I myself am unable to enter." To this Professor Petrie added, "I have never met with pyrites nodules kept in graves or houses, except selected even balls for playing a game. Peculiar flints selected are often found, so the idea was familiar, but pyrites was unnoticed. One name for *iron*, however, was *ba ne pat* (iron of the sky), and this was applied both to haematite and native iron. The *idea* of meteoric iron was thus known, but the material was disregarded."

The only Egyptian example I have been able to find is described by Sir J. Evans,<sup>65</sup> who says that a celt of nephrite engraved with gnostic inscriptions in Greek was found in Egypt many years ago, and appears to be unique.

In Africa the sole example of the keraunic belief given by Tylor is that of Djakuta or Jakuta, the Stone-Caster of the Yoruba, usually called Shango, the Thunder-god, who, as among so many other people who have forgotten their Stone Age, flings down from heaven the stone hatchets which are found in the ground and preserved as sacred objects. A fuller account of these Yoruba beliefs is given by Dwyer,<sup>66</sup> who states that the ancient axeheads or celts found in the country and called *adura* are "messengers from," not the bolts of, Shonga the local Thunder-god, and that they have peculiar properties when "fresh." When a house is struck by lightning and fired, it is visited by the priests of Shonga, who are strongly "possessed" (by the spirit), and succeed in producing the thunder-stone from its ashes, a fee being charged by the priests for the performance. Mr. Dwyer could never ascertain where the stones came from, even the offer of heavy bribes failing to extract the information, the invariable reply being "they come from Shonga." Further, "if a person offends some of the Elders or commits some crime," his house will be burnt a few days afterwards,—the priests

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>66</sup> *Man*, 1903, p. 184.

will see to this,—and then the priests arrive and find the stone, and exact the usual heavy penalty. Again, a form of ordeal consists in drinking from a bowl of water in which either a thunder-stone or the skull of a person who has been killed by lightning has been dipped.

It may be concluded from the numerous accounts which refer to the keraunic belief either in Nigeria or other parts of West Africa that it is chiefly localized in that part of the continent, and indeed there does seem to be some good ground for thinking so. Mr. Henry Balfour, for instance,<sup>67</sup> remarks that :—

“Western Africa is no exception to this general rule (of the keraunic belief). Sir R. Burton, the Rev. T. T. Bowen, Major A. B. Ellis, and others, all refer to this belief in this region. Burton and Winwood Reade have told us that on the Gold Coast stone axes were called “thunderstones” (*sráman-òò*) and “god-axes,” and were carefully preserved for their supposed universal virtues. A specimen was found by Mr. Kühne on an altar or shrine at Ashanti. In that region, too, they were called “god-axes.””

Ellis gives a similar account of flint arrowheads and axes on the Slave Coast, among the Ewe-speaking people,<sup>68</sup> who believe them to be “thunderbolts” associated with their god of lightning. In Benin, according to Mr. Balfour,

“the superstitious reverence with which stone axes were regarded . . . is abundantly manifest from the frequent representations of these objects upon the elaborate bronze castings, especially upon some of the larger human heads and the state maces. Upon the latter the surmounting human figure is frequently represented as holding a neolithic axe blade in the left hand. By analogy we may assume that in Benin the stone axes were “thunderbolts,” and became objects of veneration as symbols of the thunder-god.”<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Man*, 1903, p. 183.

<sup>68</sup> *The Ewe-speaking Peoples etc. of the Slave Coast*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>69</sup> *Man*, 1903, p. 183.

In addition, Mr. Balfour describes two small bronze models of celts from Benin which were found with a number of similar models, and were perforated for stringing; these are said to have formed a necklet, and in Mr. Balfour's opinion were probably symbolical of the god of lightning. But, if they were anything more than a necklace worn for mere ornament, may they not have been worn, more probably, for quasi-medical reasons?<sup>70</sup>

Dr. J. G. Frazer, in connection with this subject,<sup>71</sup> gives a number of references, all of which, if we take the African ones, are localized in the western portion of the continent, with a single exception, that of a keraunic belief similar to those we have been describing, which was recorded by the late Lieut. Boyd-Alexander from Central Africa (in the district named from the Welle, a tributary of the Congo). Of course this is not to say that occasional examples outside this area never occur; but we can at least safely say that the centre of distribution of such implements, as well as of the corresponding beliefs about them, so far as Africa is concerned, is the western part of the continent.

In respect to the distribution of the belief in India, where the Stone Age still survives side by side with the use of metal in various parts of the country, D'Alviella<sup>72</sup> quotes several references. Montelius states that gods with the symbolic double axe occur in various parts of ancient Greece, Syria, Asia, etc.<sup>73</sup> Tylor notes<sup>74</sup> that the Vedas "are full of Indra's glories," and gives several passages in which his thunderbolt,—the "heavenly stone" the primeval smiths had sharpened for him, a kind of stone axe, according to Montelius,—is referred to, and Mr.

<sup>70</sup> It is perhaps worth considering whether the double-headed axe-models once employed as votive offerings at shrines in ancient Crete may not be fairly compared to the god-axes offered in Ashanti.

<sup>71</sup> *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), Part I., vol. ii., p. 374.

<sup>72</sup> *The Migration of Symbols*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>73</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., pp. 62-6.

<sup>74</sup> *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 240.

Crooke informs me that the Hindus call the symbol of the thunderbolt *vajra* (a sort of forked trident), but adds,—“It cannot be said whether in early times they connected it with the celts.” Frazer gives three examples of celts regarded as thunderbolts, but all these are from southern and central India. In the former region they are said to be the thunderbolts of Vishnu.<sup>75</sup> Sir J. Evans<sup>76</sup> says they are renovated and placed against the Mahadeos, or painted red and treated as Mahadeo. In northern India such things are practically unknown in the great plains, being found only on the hills fringing the valley of the Ganges. The people regard them as uncanny, and pile them up at village shrines. As to their being called *thunderbolts*, it is difficult to speak generally, but in the Nāga Hills at all events they are considered to have fallen from heaven,<sup>77</sup> and in Burma the belief is as definite as anywhere else in the world, as we learn from Capt. C. J. F. S. Forbes<sup>78</sup>:—

“Their oaths are generally taken by drinking the water out of a jar in which a musket, spear, sword, a tiger’s and a crocodile’s tooth, and a stone hatchet or ‘celt’ (which they deem a thunderbolt), have been immersed, calling on the spirit of each of these means of death to punish the committal of perjury.”

There still remains one form of the keraunic belief which is diametrically opposed to everything we have yet met,—the belief that thunderbolts, or *batu halilintar*, as the Malays call them, are not hurled from the sky, but rise out of the ground, and strike upwards, the lightning also originating, not from the clouds, but from the agitated movements of large wild animals. This belief was recorded by Mr. J. B. Scrivenor,<sup>79</sup> but I have also myself heard suggestions of this kind from the Malays, and a definite account of the lightning part of it was included in the

<sup>75</sup> Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 351.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>77</sup> Mr. W. Crooke.

<sup>78</sup> *British Burma etc.*, p. 252.

<sup>79</sup> *Man*, 1908, pp. 105-6.



Expeditionary notes taken on the visit of the Cambridge exploring party to the Siamese-Malay States on the east coast of the Peninsula in 1900. I shall first, however, give Mr. Scrivenor's account, which was obtained in writing from an educated Perak Malay named Mahomed Mansur, the son of a minister of the ex-Sultan Abdullah of Perak. It is as follows:—

“There are certain things called *batu lintar*. Men say that a Jin makes them out of stiff clay and that they are always found in the ground. The Jin piles them one above the other, close together, while they are still soft. If they are left they become quite hard. When they are hard enough, if the Jin wishes to kill an enemy (another Jin), he takes out the stones, and the power of the Jin is such that they become red like fire and (are surrounded by fire so that) their shape is like a coconut. If any mortal comes within range of the emanations from these stones, though they may be thirty *depas* distant, he cannot help fainting away. If a tree is struck by one, it is as though that tree were struck by a bullet, but the mark runs zig-zag from the trunk to the branches. Men who are struck by the emanations from these stones become as though burnt and turn red; but no one is ever struck by the stone itself. . . . Men say that the Jin who owns the stones does not purposely wound a man's body. When the Jin throws a stone at an enemy and the enemy in trying to escape runs close to a mortal, then the stone follows him and in passing causes him to faint away. When a man has fainted away one must not touch him. If he is touched he is sure to die. But if one searches near the man it will be found that the Jin has thrown down a tuft of grass tied in a knot. If this is dipped in water and the water sprinkled over the man who has fainted, he recovers. Again, men say that when one finds a *batu lintar* that has not yet burst into flames it will never burst into flames if a little bit is chipped off the stone. But if this is not done when there is a high wind that *batu lintar* will explode with the noise of a cannon. Therefore, whenever a man finds a *batu lintar* he chips it slightly.” . . . “I have questioned Mansur as to the cause of lightning. He tells me it is explained by Malays in many different ways. One

cause is a Jin throwing a *batu lintar* at his enemy. Another is a big animal, such as an elephant or a bison, shaking himself in the jungle."

Mr. Scrivenor gives the main points of the belief as they were told to himself, and the essential facts are that *batu lintar* are found in the ground and that they gradually get harder or ripier. When they are hard or ripe they rise out of the ground and burst with a loud report, and when they strike a tree they first strike a trunk and then the branches. They are powerful magic till they are chipped, when they lose their power. "Lightning comes out of a herd of big game, such as a herd of elephants." Upon this I may remark that, though I cannot give any specific example as to the belief that the thunderbolt strikes upwards, rising up out of the ground and first reaching the stem and then the branches, the idea is certainly neither unfamiliar to me in the character of a Malay belief, nor is it in any way surprising, the only point of which I am in any doubt being as to whether these bolts do not rise *after they have fallen* as in the German belief that they rise nine days later, mentioned by Sir J. Evans.<sup>80</sup> For the internal evidence of Mansur's own account shows that in some cases at least the Jins must cast them down, or they could not hit human beings. An exactly similar belief is held by the Malays with regard to other shaped things found in the earth,—with regard to treasure jars, for instance, of which I will presently give an example; and I may add that the Malay belief as to other such objects is certainly that they sink into and rise up out of the ground, and this idea, so far from being rare, is quite common,—I may in fact say, without the least exaggeration, that no well-conducted Malay "treasure-jar" or crock or anything of that kind ever does anything else. Moreover, the parallel is exact, as regards the chipping of the vessel's lip, which is done because the Malays believe that the *semangat* or soul

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

which in their view pervades all things inert as well as animate, will not remain when its counterpart is marred ;<sup>81</sup> for we must think of the *semangat* as a diminutive model or counterpart of the object which it inhabits. Thus, when the substantive jar or urn is chipped or broken, it no longer agrees identically with its spiritual archetype, (which appears to be something quasi-material or more nearly approaching what we should call one of the Platonic ideas) ; hence the spirit or soul, which the Malays call *semangat*, consequently flies. It is for this reason that the clay models of bullocks and other animals, which are offered at shrines, as I have seen in the Malay Peninsula, are broken before being offered. For the least fracture expels or destroys their *semangat*.

I will conclude with an account of "lightning" which I myself took down in 1899 from the Malays in Ulu Pahang, which, taken together with Mr. Scrivenor's account of the thunderbolt, I think should be sufficient to show that Malay ideas on the subject of storm phenomena are quite different in character to our own. The gist of the whole matter is, (as I hope immediately to show), that the thunderbolt or jar or other inert object, so long as it is uninjured, possesses a vitality of some sort ; on the other hand, the Malay ideas about lightning suggest electricity.

"Lightning *ascends* from creatures on earth. All living creatures possess this lightning (which is so powerful that), if we are merely startled, our own lightning can be perceived by our foes. Lightning is of several different kinds :—

1. The elephants'-herd flash or elephants'-crowd flash, which has a very broad appearance [*i.e.* sheet lightning] ; this is the kind of flash that ascends from a herd of elephants.

2. Bison lightning, which is greenish.

3. Tiger lightning, which is yellow.

All the foregoing are silent and have no thunder.

<sup>81</sup> So too Pliny tells us of a stone, "within the Isle Scyros," which floats when whole, and sinks when marred, (Holland's translation (1634), vol. ii., p. 587).

4. Sky-crash lightning, or sky-stride lightning, *i.e.* lightning with thunder.

In Selangor treasure pots or jars of the kind called Bedena are alive until they are chipped (*sumbing*), whereupon they die. They have been known to pursue people by rocking after them (*tergolek-golek*), in which case [*i.e.* if you are pursued by a treasure jar] it is safest to run away. If, however, you are a lucky sort of person, and avoid all exclamations of delight [at being chased by a treasure jar, presumably,—the Malay word is *tekupor*], but quietly and determinedly take your jungle-knife and chip the jar's edge, you may secure its contents. Some people have been fortunate enough to catch them with a hook when fishing, but even then there is often much trouble in securing them, as at the smallest provocation or excuse they will retire again to the bottom of the river."

I may add that several references to the belief in the wider Malayan region are given by Frazer,<sup>82</sup> and Sir J. Evans<sup>83</sup> states that in Java celts are called "lightning teeth."

In this brief survey we have thrown the net broadcast, and I think we shall on the whole be justified, not only from the distribution of the beliefs, but of the objects themselves, in concluding that the keraunic belief as applied to stone implements though world-wide is so far from being in any way general or universal, as has too often been stated or implied; that it does not occur at all, or only quite locally and exceptionally, over the greater part of the world,—*e.g.* in China or in Egypt, or the greater part of North and South America, that it is but partial in India, and is very limited as to area in Africa and elsewhere; that it is not at all general anywhere, except possibly in the Indo-European regions, (though in both areas it is far from being universal); and that it also occurs in some countries which are or have been formerly under strong and direct European or Indian influence. We have seen

<sup>82</sup> *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), Part I., vol. ii., p. 374 n.

<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

above that both the snakestone and the stone thunderbolt are embedded deeply in the folklore strata of many parts of Britain and the Continent, and hence we may conclude that they both once formed part of the religion of these islands, but have been so overlaid by Christianity that they now represent not merely beliefs about fossils, but also what may perhaps be called some "fossil beliefs" of Britain as well. Above all we have found a possible link between the two classes of belief in the fact that both celts and ammonites are in India connected with the worship of Vishnu.<sup>84</sup>

WALTER W. SKEAT.

<sup>84</sup> I have to express my very great indebtedness, in particular to the geological friends who have helped me with this paper, among whom I may specially mention Dr. F. L. Kitchin, Mr. G. W. Lamplugh, Mr. H. B. Woodward, Mr. H. Woods, and Professor T. M'Kenny Hughes, as well as to Mr. W. Crooke, Professor Giles, Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, Mr. E. Lovett, Mr. A. B. Cook, and last, but not least, my father Professor Skeat, to whose kind help is due most of what is valuable in the quotations from the earlier English records.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### A GREEK MARRIAGE IN CAPPADOCIA.

HASÁKEUI, or as the Greeks call it Axó, is a village lying out in the middle of the Cappadocian plain about six hours' drive to the north of Nigde. With the exception of the church and the school now being constructed, the buildings consist entirely of flat-roofed houses of mud bricks, plastered over with a compound of straw, mud, and dung (Plate I). Against almost every wall are to be seen the dung cakes, which in this treeless country serve as fuel in the severe winter, plastered up to dry in the sun. The village naturally presents a somewhat squalid and insignificant appearance, but it is of considerable size. It is said to contain 800 houses, and in each house live the *voικοκύρης* or head of the house, his unmarried daughters, and his sons and their wives and families. In the house in which my companion and I were lodged the total number of the family was twenty-four. In the winter, when snow lies a metre deep on the ground and sheep and cattle are added to the human inhabitants of a mud dwelling, ill-calculated to withstand the assaults of rain and snow, the conditions of life must be uncomfortable indeed.

The inhabitants are all Christians, and, with the characteristic and pathetic hankering after an ancestral patrimony, the learned men of the place are convinced that Axó must have been a colony of Naxos! The majority of the people talk Turkish and one of the Cappadocian dialects of modern Greek. It was the latter indeed which brought Mr. Dawkins, whom I had the good fortune to accompany, to the place. One or two, the intellectual aristocracy, who had been taken out of their village by mercantile enterprise, spoke the "pure" tongue of modern Greece.

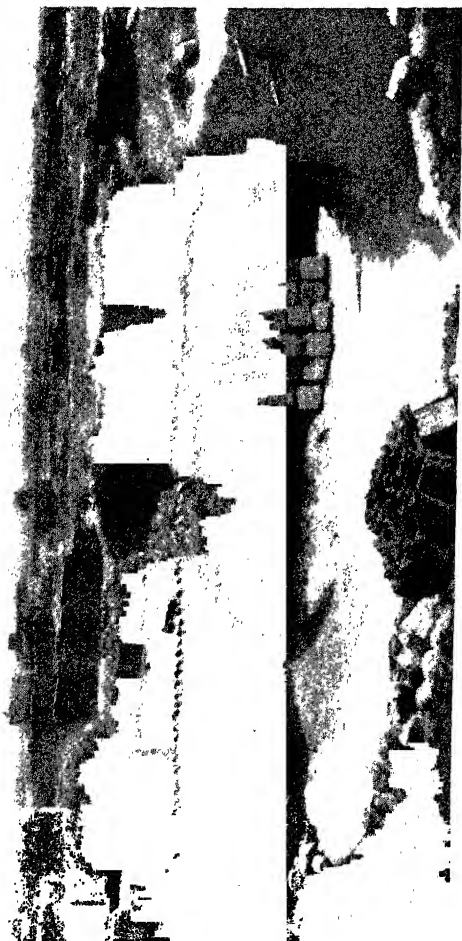
There is something of the heroic in the way these Greeks pursue an ideal of education, disappointing as are too often the results when the means have been achieved. This mud village, obviously a miserably poor community, was engaged in building itself a school which, when completed, will be second only to the church in magnificence,—and every stone has to be brought from Urgub, at least a day's journey away! This enterprise is a sign of the times, and another fifty years will probably see great changes in the customs of this at present backward community. We were therefore delighted to hear on our arrival of a marriage to be celebrated on the morrow.

In Hasákeui they marry young,—boys from twelve to seventeen, and girls from ten to fourteen years of age. The betrothal takes place three or four years before marriage, and the practice of infant betrothal, which prevails, I believe, in some of the villages of these parts, was said not to exist here.

Eight days before the marriage ceremony, the representatives of the bridegroom go to the house of the prospective bride and 'give word' (δίδουν λόγον) to her parents of the approaching event. The next ceremony is that of clothing the bridegroom, which takes place the evening before the marriage, and this we were fortunate enough to witness on the evening of our arrival.

We reached the house of the bridegroom's father about nine o'clock in the evening. The courtyard was occupied by the male friends of the family seated in a hollow square. Above on the roof were women and children, and throughout the proceedings a steady rain of fragments of the mud parapet over which they leaned kept us aware of their presence. We were seated on cushions in the place of honour, facing the gateway and next to the priest, who took his seat at our right shortly after our arrival. Mastic *liqueur* was now handed round, and the musicians struck up. The native songs are entirely lost, and the rhythmical but tuneless ditties were performed by a pair of hired Turkish professionals. Their instruments were tambourines held upright in front of the performer in both hands placed at the bottom edge, with fingers on the outside and thumbs inside towards the player. The position of the thumbs remains throughout unchanged, and the instrument is drummed with the fingers only. There is no

Plate II.



THE VILLAGE OF HASÁKEUL.

*To face p. 82.*





wrist action. A big fellow got up and began to dance. In each hand he held a pair of painted wooden spoons, which served as castanets, and to their music he trod a monotonous measure of small steps round and round the confined space enclosed by the sitting company. His performance was interrupted by the entry of food, (dried fish and rice in round dishes and the flat round cakes of local bread), brought in on low circular Turkish tables, and set round the inner edge of the assembly of guests.

All this time the bridegroom had been standing, neglected by everybody, against a wall of the yard, a disconsolate figure with a guttering candle in his hand and by his side his *σύντεκνος* (*sýnteknos*) or best man. This official is a god-child of the bridegroom's father, and will himself be godfather to the first child born of the marriage. In this case he was an unhappy-looking little boy of eight or nine years old.

When the food had been taken away, the priest took a lighted candle in his left hand, and set in front of him a bundle of new clothes tied up in a handkerchief. He proceeded to chant a prayer for the blessing of the Holy Ghost, concluding with the words,—“Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” The bundle was then opened, and the bridegroom led in front of the priest. To his left and a little in his rear stood the *παρισκάμενος* (*pariskámenos*), his brother-in-law, whose duty it is to prompt and direct his movements throughout the ceremony. To his right stood his *κουμπάρος* (*kumbáros*), or godfather, and to him the priest handed one by one the articles of clothing, two waistcoats, trousers, a belt, a coat, and a fez. As he received each, the *kumbáros* passed it three times *widdershins* round the bridegroom's head before clothing him with it, saying each time,—“I put this (naming the garment) on the boy; may he be of good repute and live many years,”—a refrain which is taken up by the crowd in chorus. When the bridegroom has thus been reduced to a helpless bundle of new clothes, he bends down, and the priest ties round his neck a yellow handkerchief and tucks the ends in his belt, forming a St. Andrew's Cross on his breast. This crossed handkerchief is called the *πολυσταύρο* (*polystávro*).

After kissing the priest's hand, the bridegroom stands neglected for a time, while the collection of *parádhes* is conducted. The

priest has a small tin tray in front of him; a few small coins are given by each of those present, and, as they are put into the priest's hand, he is told the donor's name. He then rattles them into the plate, shouting,—“Mashallá! May So-and-so have many children,” or some wish suitable to the occasion and the donor's status. The priest and the *pariskámenos* entered with great zest into this part of the business, and shouted for *χαιρετίσματα* with all the energy of hawkers at a fair.

When the springs of charity have run dry, the bridegroom is again brought forward. His shoes are removed, and inside each is placed a small coin. He then puts them on again, and walks round the company, shaking and kissing hands, but holding all the while his left hand in front of his genital organs.

After this general salutation, the bridegroom disappeared for good, and until half-past ten o'clock, when we were given a hint to go and permit the party to break up, music and dance occupied the company. To the tambourines was added a reed pipe called a *κερύκα* (*keryka*), to whose strains a local performer danced a wild dance with extraordinary and unflagging energy. It opened by his standing with feet wide apart, arms dangling out, and head, with closed eyes, hanging slack on his breast. In this posture he swayed five or six times from side to side, like a man in the last stages of sodden inebriation. The next movement consisted of a shuffling little step combined with a good deal of stomach play and twisting of the body. Then suddenly, sitting on his heels, he proceeded to bound round and round the circle, snapping his fingers and emitting sharp barking yells.

On the next day, Sunday, we reached the bridegroom's house about 7.30 a.m. The bridegroom was dressed in his new clothes with the *polystávro*, which was worn also by his very tired-looking little *sýnteknos*. About half an hour was spent sitting round drinking coffee and singing and dancing. Then the tambourine player and a few of those present went off to fetch the *κουμπάρα* (*kumbára*) or godmother of the bridegroom. When she arrived, we all set out for the house of the bride. Here the bridegroom and his *sýnteknos* remained outside the gate of the yard; we all went inside, and stood outside the house door. This was locked, and a short fight took place between some small boys in front of

Plate III.



WEDDING PROCESSION AT HASÁKEUL.

*To face p. 84.*



it. At length the *pariskámenos* and the women officials of the bridegroom's party (*i.e.* his sister, his mother, and his godmother) effected an entrance after whispering something through the key-hole. All the men and ourselves remained in the yard, while the girl friends of the bride mourned over her inside the house. After about half an hour, the mother, sister-in-law (herself a newly-wed bride), and sister of the bride came out, the first two carrying metal dishes of wine in which coins had been placed, and the third a bunch of basil. They walked out to the gate and kissed the bridegroom and the *synteknos* (Plate IV).

After a further delay, the bride, surrounded by her women, was led out by the godmother of the bridegroom. She was dressed in so many clothes that she could hardly walk, and must have been nearly suffocated with the heat. Over her clothes she had a red robe of thick material, and over her head was a long yellow cloth, above which she wore a metal cap with a long tassel and a fringe of coins; over that again was the thick red veil. After seeing her led out, calling out on her mother and expressing loudly her grief and reluctance to leave her home, we were hurried on to a post of vantage. I was told afterwards that when the bride passes out of the outer gate of her home she kisses the door.

The procession made its way to the church. In front ran a posse of little boys indulging their natural aptitude for raising a din, and then a crowd of men led by the tambourine player in front drumming away and shrieking songs like one possessed, while the man with the spoon castanets danced. Next came the priest carrying his book under his arm, and his stick in his hand, puffing away at a cigarette. Behind him walked the main part of the procession, the bridegroom and *synteknos* side by side with candles in their hands, and on the right of the groom the bride; behind them again was the crowd of women (Plate III).

The service was of course in the language of the Greek Church, with the exception of the exhortation, which was read in Turkish, in order that it might be 'understood of the people.' The first part took place just inside the church door, and was invisible from our position opposite the lectern in the middle of the aisle. To this the pair now advanced. The book from which one of the two officiating priests read the service was placed upon their

bended heads, and for some time rested there. The godmother of the bridegroom stood behind with crossed arms resting on the backs of the happy pair. Throughout the service, she crossed and recrossed her arms in this position, after the ceremony of crowning holding one of the crowns in either hand. This crowning with wreaths of artificial orange blossom is of course the central point of the Greek marriage service.<sup>1</sup> The crowns are blessed, and the sign of the cross is made several times with each of them over both parties before they are put on.

After the crowning an *eikon* was placed on the lectern and the pair were led round it three times, *widdershins*, kissing it each time they pass it. They were then made to stand, holding an *eikon* in their two hands, while first the priest, then the relatives, and then the rest of their friends went from bridegroom to bride kissing their foreheads and the *eikons* in their hands. The groom returned the salutation by kissing the hand of each one, and the bride after doing the same brought her forehead with a sharp jerk on to the hand she had kissed. After kissing the bridegroom, his friends are allowed, if they can elude prevention at the hands of the *pariskámenos*, to give him a slap in the face. The groom himself can of course do nothing to prevent them; throughout the service the principals do nothing for themselves. When, for instance, before the crowning, sacramental wine is given them to drink, the priest holds the cup to the bridegroom's lips, while her sister pours the wine down the bride's throat.

After walking round the church, the bride and bridegroom went out, and on their exit from the church enclosure kissed the door. We then went in procession to the house of the bride's godmother, much as we came, except that there was more pistol shooting at unpleasantly close quarters and that the order of groom and bride was different. The groom now walked in front, and behind him came his godmother, holding him with her right hand and with her left clutching the bride, who followed her. For ten minutes

<sup>1</sup> At Phárasa or Varashós, a Greek-speaking village in the Taurus, we arrived just too late to witness the ceremony of removing the crowns, which are there worn for a week, and then ceremonially removed in church. The custom was said to be a local peculiarity. As I did not know of the existence of such a rite when we were at Hasákeui, I unfortunately asked no questions as to the removal of the crowns.



WOMEN RETURNING FROM KISSING BRIDE-  
GROOM AND SYNTEKOS, HASÁKEUI.





we waited in front of the house of the bride's godmother, while the *προίκα* or dowry was brought out (Plate V). We then returned and stood in the blazing sun opposite the house door of the bridegroom. The faces of the heavily clad women steamed with perspiration, and the bride must have felt intolerably hot in all her wrappings. First from the roof of the house corn and coins were scattered over the company. The women representatives of the bridegroom then came out, placed a cloth over the head of the bride, and poured corn over her. There is no superstitious value attached to the coins, for which the people present scramble. My informant, on being told that sham coins were used in a neighbouring village, reflected with superior pride that the coins scattered in Hasákeui could be used in the market.

The concluding ceremony followed of the handing over of the articles of the dowry piece by piece to the women representatives of the bridegroom (*i.e.* mother, sister, and godmother) by the women of the bride. When this was over, the company dispersed to meet again after the midday heat at convivialities which we did not attend, but of which the generosity was warranted by the noisy and somewhat unsteady gait of several of those who passed our house in the evening.

Two points further are of interest. The money *προίκα*, to us such an unseemly feature of the marriage arrangements in Greece, was here absent. The *προίκα* in Hasákeui was merely a *trousseau*. It is to be feared that civilisation may introduce the more mercenary system, if one may judge from the analogy of the far more advanced community of Σινασός, a flourishing village near Urgub, about a day's journey away.<sup>2</sup>

The other feature of interest is the severity of the taboos on the bride. For forty days she is obliged to wear the veil. For two or three years she may not speak to her mother-in-law or the male relatives of her husband above the age of childhood. Any conversation which is necessary with her mother-in-law must be carried on indirectly through her sisters-in-law or the children of the house, to whom the words intended to reach the ears of the mother-in-law must be actually addressed. In cases where there

<sup>2</sup> See the chapter on marriage customs in Σινασός, an account of the community by the local scholar 'Αρχέλαος.

are no sisters-in-law or young children, practical convenience is said to relax the rule as regards the mother-in-law. For several years, again, the bride may not eat out of the common dish, and, even when she is at length admitted to this privilege, she must sit on one side and eat with her head turned away. As to the exact duration of the taboos, I could not elicit a more definite date than "two or three years." My informant's brother had been married for three years, and his sister-in-law has not yet exchanged a word with him.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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A FOLKLORE SURVEY OF COUNTY CLARE (*continued*).

XIX. *Rocks, Caves, and Stones.*

*Rock markings.*—The strange marks left in the flat crags by the weathering of softer portions and of fossils have caused numerous legends. The dish-like hollows in the crags below the hermitage of St. Colman MacDuach, at the great "Cliff of the Eagle," in Kinallia, the name Bohernameesh (*bothar na mias*, i.e. road of the dishes), and marks like the footprints of men and animals all seem to have been seized on by the saint's biographers.<sup>1</sup> Colman, brother of King Guaire "the hospitable," of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne (the district round Gort), early in the seventh century retired to fast and pray in the wilderness. After a most austere observance of Lent, a companion monk yearned for meat, and Colman pitied him and prayed. The king's Easter feast therefore flew to the hermitage, pursued by the whole Court. Terrified by the angry warriors Colman again prayed, and their feet and the hoofs of their horses stuck fast in the rocks. The legend is still told in a form identical with that in the Life.<sup>2</sup> The servant is said to have died from the feast, and his grave is shown beside the Boher.<sup>3</sup>

Where Burren and Inchiquin meet, on the Glasgeivnagh Hill,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (ed. W. Stokes, Rolls Ser.), p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Colgan, *Acta SS. Hiberniæ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 100 (Ms. Royal Irish Academy).

Plate V.



WOMEN ENTERING HOUSE OF BRIDE'S GODMOTHER TO FETCH  
DOWRY, HASÁKEUI.

*To face p. 88.*



the marks on the fretted rocks are attributed to the grey cow of Lon mac Leefa (Liomhtha). It is a very lonely and impressive spot. Ascending at the beautiful waterfall of the Seven Streams in Teeskagh, (a curtain of silver network over a cliff, sheeted with long moss and ferns, with ledges white with anemones, in spring, and fields blue with gentians), the great triple stone fort of Caher-commaun is seen on the edge of the northern cliff, and the way passes another early enclosure, with ruins of huts, called Cahernaglasha, where the *Glas* cow was stabled and her seven keepers lived. The highest point of Slievenaglasha,—rising 700 feet above the sea, which is visible far to the west,—has fourteen cairns and overlooks a long shallow valley, with strange brown patches here and there and another strong ring wall over a little cave. The patches are the *labbas* or beds of the *Glas* and her calf, the waterfall sprang from the abundant milk of the cow, and the fort is Mohernagartan ("the smith's fort"), the residence of Lon the Smith. The footprints of the wonderful animal and of Lon's seven sons are visible on every crag, and the cave with strange cinder-like débris is the reputed forge of the "dark brown Luno" of (Macpherson's) Ossian.<sup>4</sup>

At Ballynahown in Corcomroe, overlooked by the bold peel tower of Ballinalacken, are traces of the *Heanbo* (single cow), which differs from the *Glas* and gives its name to the Labbana-heanbo, a cave high up in the face of a magnificent cliff. In this bed the Heanbo will support the Leinster man who will win the freedom of Ireland in the last great battle. The cave is at the junction of three townlands, but is in none of them.<sup>5</sup>

On Scattery Island were two stones (still, I think, visible), one called Glun Senain because marked by the knee (*glun*) of St. Senan, and the other the stone on which St. Cannara<sup>6</sup> floated from Kilconry to the holy isle of the woman-fearing saint.

<sup>4</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 100. I gave the legend in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxv., p. 227, and it is still told in the locality.

<sup>5</sup> From Messrs. Kelleher and Hilary of Oughtdarra, to whose kindness and local knowledge I am much indebted. Cf. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., p. 346.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 332, n. 2.

Another knee-stone of St. Senan was beside the creek of Poulanishery on the opposite shore to Scatterry. Between Dysert O'Dea and Rath Blamaic a rock with two basins bore the marks of St. Manawla's knees when she carried off the round tower of Rath.<sup>7</sup> St. Columba's thumb and finger marks are shown on a limestone boulder in the road fence near the lane to his entrenched church in Glen Columbcille. The bosses on the "plague stone" at Tomfinlough church were the two plague swellings torn from a woman's head and thrown against the stone by St. Luchtighern.

Not only the saints, but also Finn MacCumhail and his warriors have left marks on the rocks of Clare. A huge rock named Cloughmornia or Cloughlea, near Ballysheen and not far from Sixmilebridge, has in its sides long straight gashes where Finn and his band tried (or sharpened) their swords.<sup>8</sup> Finn's fingerprints are visible on a rock which was brought to Cullaun House near Quin early in the last century by the facetious Tom Steele from Birr in King's County, where it was seen by Thomas Dineley about 1680. The stone was called "the Navel of Ireland,"<sup>9</sup> and the V-marks are now regarded as the footprints of the cock that crowed at St. Peter's denial.

Hughey's Rock, a great boulder on the brow of the ridge between Edenvale and Rockmount near Ennis, bears the finger-marks of Hughey, a giant who threw it at another giant from Mount Callan.<sup>10</sup>

*Caves.*—I have heard at Newhall of a cave "between Ennis and Lisdoonvarna" in which runs an underground river that

<sup>7</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 50. A similar legend occurs in the *Book of Lecan*.

<sup>8</sup> *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 30 (notes). The legend was still surviving at Ballysheen in 1899.

<sup>9</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. viii. (1864), p. 360. The cock legend is often represented on tombstones etc., and appears at Ennis Abbey (1460). In a version gathered by me in eastern Limerick, the cock says,—“I'm only a cock, and you're an apostle; but I'm the better gentleman any day!” In *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 415, the Angel Victor in the form of a bird leaves footmarks on a stone.

<sup>10</sup> So told me by Shaneen (Little John) O'Halloran at Edenvale in 1869 and later.

makes old people young. The exact locality is unknown, as the people who have gone to use it have never been seen again. Lismulbreeda cave, in Dromcliff parish and near the Kilrush road, is marked all over its soft sandstone sides and roof with crosses, figures, and initials, which it is considered lucky to cut on a visit. Horses are said to have come out of the Kilcorney cave, and left descendants in the valley below.<sup>11</sup> The caves of the Broc-sidh and Faracat have already been mentioned.<sup>12</sup> There is a tale of a wild boar in a cave some miles to the north-east of Feakle.

*Dolmens*.—These were supposed to be giants' graves, and, if called "altars," the word was understood in a Christian sense, with a belief that they had been used for the mass during the prevalence of the cruel penal laws. For example, Altoir Ultach was said to be named from an Ulster priest who served the mass there in the eighteenth century because the nearest magistrates were more tolerant than those of the north.<sup>13</sup> There is no evidence of any general popular belief that they were pagan altars, such an idea, where it existed, being derived from the "learned ignorance" of local gentry. The dolmens were, and are, called *leaba* (*labba*, "bed") and *leaba Diarmuid agus Grainne* (*lobba 'iermuth a'us graunya*) from the elopement of those famous lovers. Legend on the west coast of Clare told that Diarmuid, finding that Finn could learn all the movements of his wife by biting his prophetic thumb, put seaweed on the cover of the dolmen. Finn, finding that seaweed was over the lovers, imagined

<sup>11</sup> This cave was famous in the eighteenth century for throwing out floods of water full of fish—(cf. *inter alia*, Gough's *Camden*),—and this is remembered traditionally, although the floods have been rare and insignificant since 1833. Other similar phenomena are recorded in Irish annals; e.g. in the Ulster Annals in 759 "Bennmuilt poured forth a stream with fishes," and in 867 "a strange eruption of water from Sliabh Cualann with little black fishes."

<sup>12</sup> Vol. xxi., pp. 180, 183, 479. The Faracat, according to *The Adventures of the Three Sons of Thorailbh*, was a monstrous cat having a crescent on its forehead and a sharp nail in its tail.

<sup>13</sup> In fact, the Westropp, Drews, and Patersons acted as trustees under friendly "Protestant discoveries" to preserve the properties of the O'Briens, Macnamaras, and Barretts from the hostile effect of the laws, c. 1730-90.



that they had drowned themselves, and gave up the pursuit.<sup>14</sup> Possibly the legend originated the association of indecency with the Clare dolmens found in 1808 by Hely Dutton.<sup>15</sup> A girl would not guide him to the fine one at Ballygannor until assured that he was a stranger, for, it was explained to him, a woman could refuse nothing to a man at one of these monuments. Some such reason probably lay behind the belief that, if a couple unblessed with children went to a *labba*, the defect in their household was amended. I have been told that this belief existed in Clare, but got no direct evidence of it. The Tuam an goskaigh monument in Ballynahown was believed to be the grave of a giant buried with his great sword, to recover which certain young men dug and overthrew the stones; but they found nothing, and afterwards prospered so ill that they had to emigrate.<sup>16</sup> Grania was supposed to be a male saint near Feakle, and the "scoop" in the west end of Tobergrania dolmen-well at Ballycroum was supposed to be the place where he put in his head to drink.<sup>17</sup> The long grave of Ballykelly, famed for its lovely outlook high over the woods and lake of Doon on the flank of Slieve Bernagh, was known as "Old Grania," but the term "Granny's bed" was not unknown in East Clare. I heard no legend of a "hag" at any dolmen. The alleged rites at the "Druid's Altars" at Maryfort and Carnelly have already been noted.<sup>18</sup> When two blocks of the latter structure were removed for use as gateposts, they returned during the night to their original site, and were never again removed. The hand of the destroyer of a dolmen near Ruan was struck by a splinter and severely injured,<sup>19</sup> the remains of the blocks being left where

<sup>14</sup> Corcomroe legend, given to me by the late Prof. Brian O'Looney.

<sup>15</sup> *Statistical Survey of the County of Clare*, p. 318. On the Continent indecent names and legends are also attached to dolmens; cf. Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 555; vol. iii., p. 845.

<sup>16</sup> Messrs. Hilary and Kelleher of Oughtdarra.

<sup>17</sup> So among the inhabitants in 1896-9.

<sup>18</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> Told to me by the sufferer. His predecessor, who had overthrown some blocks, was also unlucky. Cf. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., p. 212.

they lay,—but no vengeance overtook those who levelled many dolmens at Mil'town near Tulla.

*Basin stones* occur not infrequently at or near dolmens, e.g. at Kiltanon and Newgrove near Tulla, and at Ballyganner and Cappaghkennedy on the borders of Burren, at the last of which five appear in one slab. In the Life of St. Mochulleus,<sup>20</sup> written in 1141, a basin "like a large *hydria*" was found in a polished block of stone when the saint was levelling the site of his church on Tulla hill. The basins were evidently regarded as very early in date even in the twelfth century. The basin of Doughnambragher (Dabthach nam brathar) at Kyleeane has already been noticed.<sup>21</sup> A large block with two basins is amongst the remains at the place of inauguration of the local kings at Magh Adhair.<sup>22</sup>

*Pillar stones and rocks.*—*Boughils* ("petrified boys") and *farbreags* ("petrified men") have been referred to in Section I.<sup>23</sup> A frog-like natural rock, close to the west side of the road from Kilkishen to Fortanne, was blasted and removed after 1887, but I have a sketch of it made in that year. There was a vague saying that it had been made, (and I think I was told also that it was a creature petrified when cursed), by some saint. The Coad stone is said to have been the same height (*com fhod*, "equal height or length," whence Co'ad),<sup>24</sup> as King Teige Acomhad O'Brien about 1460. It, the Cloghlea near Tomgraney, and the "cross" near Kilmoon were evidently boundary marks of church lands. Another legend of Coad

<sup>20</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xvii.; *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xli., p. 9. The basin was filled with milk by a hind. Similar legends are found in Glendalough (County Wicklow) and elsewhere. Giraldus tells how a hollow stone at Skellig used to be filled with wine for the sacrament.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. xxii. (Plate IV). The name is Killian on the map, but is pronounced Kyle-e-aan, with a long stress on the last syllable.

<sup>22</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxvii., p. 79, vol. xxxiv., pp. 190-1.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. xxi., pp. 183, 186, and the legend of Knocknafearbreaga on p. 185; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. (c), p. 97, vol. xxvi. (c), p. 471.

<sup>24</sup> *Com-fhod* is also a synonym for a grave.

stone was that the *liagaun*<sup>25</sup> was exacted by a father from the slayer of his son, and was the length of the victim. The story of Prince Lachtna (ante 840) tells that an adviser of King Phelim of Cashel tried to arouse his suspicions of Lachtna by an alleged oracle of a pillar stone Liag na neasain, near Killaloe, against "a fair man from Craglea."

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

<sup>25</sup> Dr. G. U. MacNamara. A *liagaun* of equal length to the slain son of the Dagda was claimed as an *eric* by the victim's father, "Dind Senchas", *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvi., p. 42.

(*To be continued.*)

#### ARMENIAN FOLK-TALES (*continued*).

##### 9. *The Perfidious Mother*.<sup>1</sup>

There was, and there was a man and a woman. The man was a hunter. On the day of his death, he said,—“Wife, I am going to die.” (His wife was with child.) “I know you are going to bear a son, and he will follow my calling. Let me not hear of his going a-hunting to Black Rock.”

The father dies; the son is born; he grows up, and he goes a-hunting. The mother says,—“Son, your father left a command, saying,—“When my son follows my calling, let me not hear of his going to Black Rock.”” But the son pays no attention to testament or command. He mounts his horse, and goes a-hunting to Black Rock. And, lo! he sees a goblin riding on a gigantic horse, approaching between heaven and earth. “Ho!” cries the goblin, “How is it that you have not heard my name, and venture to go a-hunting upon my land?” With that he gives the fellow three fisticuffs. The young man utters the name of God, and by God’s help he becomes no bigger than a fly, and fastens himself underneath the horse. Then he lets fly two arrows, and the goblin falls to the ground in a dying condition.

Then the young man says to himself,—“Now I will mount the goblin’s horse, and it will surely take me somewhere or other.”

<sup>1</sup> This is the sixth story in *Manana*.

So he mounted. The horse took him to the castle of the goblin. Forty houris came to meet him. They asked,—“Where is the goblin?” The man replied,—“I killed the goblin like a dog, and, lo! he lies on the road!” Then he asks,—“How did the goblin bring you here?”—“We are the daughters of forty kings,” they reply, “and he brought us here by force. You have killed the goblin. We will all be your wives.” “Will you?” “We will.”

Now the goblin had untold treasures. They open a door; there is a room full of jewels and pearls. They open another; it is dripping with gold. Another, and silver streams out. “Wallah, this is fine!” exclaims the man.

Again he goes a-hunting. Much time passes, little time passes. Then one day, after his return from hunting, he seats himself, and, sighing, cries,—“Ah, ah, alas!” The forty wives gather around him, and ask,—“What is lacking? We are forty houris, and we are all your wives. Have you lost your appetite? Why do you lament?” “You are sweet,” he replied, “and my mother is sweet; you in your place, my mother in hers. My mother came to my mind, and so I sighed.” Then they said,—“Rise, take a load of gold to her, and let your mother have it.” The man replied,—“I will go and bring my mother here.” And they said,—“Go, bring her.”

The son goes, and brings his mother. The mother finds out about everything from her son. The son goes a-hunting. The mother becomes the mother-in-law of the wives. The mother knows magic. The son is away. The mother goes and uses medicines and remedies on the goblin. She comes and says to the women,—“May your hair be shorn from your heads. You were glad that the goblin was dead. Take a carpet, and let us go and fetch the goblin.” They take it, and return. The mother keeps the goblin hidden, and treats him until he regains his strength. The mother makes love to the goblin, but she fears her son.

Then the mother says to the goblin,—“May your sun be cut off! (Curse you!) Show my son a road with no returning, that he may go away, and not come back.” “Very well,” says the goblin. Then the mother takes dry *los/z* (wafers), spreads them in

her bed, and lies on them. "Ah, ah, my son," she cries, "I'm dying. My bones are rattling around." (It is a lie; it is the dry wafers that rattle.) The son asks,—“Mother, what do you crave?” The mother replies,—“Son, I have heard that if you go and bring me the Water-melon of Immortality, for me to eat, I shall recover; if you don't bring it I shall die.” The son rises, and goes.

He goes until he reaches the house of an old woman. The old woman asks,—“Son, where are you going?” “I am going to get my mother the Water-melon of Immortality, little mother,” he replies. “Ho, my son,” she says, “the old woman is deceiving you.” “No, I will go and bring it,” he affirmed.

The old woman answers,—“If you will go, come let me give you some advice. You go along, and there will be forty devils on one side of the road, and fifty devils on the other. The mother of the forty devils sits at home, kneading bread. If you are able to suck her breast before she sees you, you will be safe, but, if you do not, she will eat you up even if you were to escape a day's journey away from her.”

The young man carries out the old woman's instructions. When the she-devil sees him, what then? “May the one who instructed you have her neck broken,” she exclaimed. “You have succeeded. If you had not, you would have made me a fine feast!” Then she says,—“Come, let me put you into a chest, so that the devils won't find you and eat you when they return this evening.” So she puts him into a chest.

In the evening the devils come, and immediately they cry,—“O mother, we bring home wolves and wild beasts to eat together, twelve months out of every year. Now, lo! we smell the smell of a man. You have eaten a man. Why didn't you leave a bit of his bones for us?”

“You come from roaming over mountain and valley, and the smell of man comes from you,” the mother replies. “It is not so,” they answer.

Then the mother says,—“Behold, the son of my mother's sister has come.” And the devils say,—“Mother, if it is your cousin, fetch him out; we won't eat him; we want to visit with him too.” The mother fetches the young fellow out of the chest, and the

forty devils pass him from one to another, smelling of him as though he were some fragrant flower.<sup>2</sup>

Then they ask their mother,—“What has your cousin come for?” and she tells them,—“He has come to get the Water-melon of Immortality to take to his mother who is ill. You must go and bring it to him.” Then the forty devils cry,—“Wallah! We can’t do that. It is beyond our power.” But there was a lame devil among these forty, and this one said to the young man,—“Cousin, take a pitcher, take a comb, take a razor, and you and I will go after it together.” Then they go off together. They go until they reach the place where the Water-melon of Immortality grows.

Then the lame devil says,—“Cousin, come here.” He goes there, and the devil cuts off a Water-melon from the stalk, and loads it upon the horse, and says,—“Now, you go along, and I will follow directly.” The devil sets his sound foot in the path, but, try as he may, he cannot drag his lame foot through the hedge. The other fifty devils awake, and they are upon him in no time. The lame devil cries,—“Cousin, throw down the pitcher.” He throws it down, and land and rock turn to water. By the time they cross the water and are almost upon him again, he cries,—“Cousin, throw down the comb!” He throws it down, and it becomes a thicket. By the time they have cut their way through the thicket, and are upon him again, he cries,—“Cousin, throw down the razor!” He throws it down, and it becomes thousands of bits of glass. By the time they were able to pick their way across it, the other forty devils arrive, and extricate the lame one. The young man takes the Water-melon on his horse and starts home with it.

He stops at the *konak* [large mansion] of the old woman. The old woman asks,—“Have you brought it?” “Yes, wallah, I have,” he replies. While the man is asleep that night, the old woman rises, and taking the Water-melon of Immortality puts another in its place. In the morning, the young man takes the Water-melon to his mother. She eats it, and exclaims,—“There; my soul can rest now. I won’t die just yet!”

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Strovantzdiantz gives a note in *Manana* calling attention to a parallel passage in *Gulliver’s Travels*.

The son goes a-hunting. Then the mother says to the goblin,—“May the days of your life be cut short! (Curse you!). Show my son a road that has no returning, that he may go, and never come back.” The goblin promises to do so. When the son returns, the mother takes dry wafers, and spreads them under her in the bed, and, as they crackle, she cries,—“Oh, my son, I am going to die! You will see me no more.” Her son asks her what she would like.

“Son,” she replies, “I have heard that if you were to go and bring lion’s milk, for me to drink, I should recover.” The son arises and goes.

He goes until he reaches the *konak* once more. The old woman asks,—“Son, where are you going?” “I am going after lion’s milk for my mother,” he replies. “Ho, my son, you are going to deceive her then!” “No, indeed, I am going to bring her some.” “If you are bound to go, come, let me give you some advice,” the old woman says. “As you go, you will come to an old lioness with a wounded paw; it is swollen, and painful. As soon as the sun is up, she begins to paw a cedar tree, and to roar toward heaven and toward earth. Now, if you succeed in piercing the swelling with your bow and arrow, well and good; but, if not, she will eat you up. Although you may think you have pierced the swelling, don’t show yourself until the pain of the swelling has eased. Then you can show yourself. Spirit of God! She will give you anything you wish then.”

The young man goes along. He goes until he sees a lion pawing at a cedar tree, and roaring toward heaven and toward earth. He shoots, and pierces the swelling with his bow and arrow, and it goes down.

The lion cries,—“Who is that? I should like to eat him up! Oh, oh!” Then after a little, when the pain was eased, she cries again,—“Who was that? Spirit of God! I would give him anything he wished of me.”

Then the young man sprang forth, and the lion asked,—“Was it you who cured my swelling?” “It is even so; your servant, my lord,” he replied. “Then ask,” said the lion, “and you shall have whatever you wish.”

“My mother is ill,” the man replied, “I want some lion’s milk.”

"Go to my den," the lion returned, "there I have two adopted cubs. Kill them; take their blood, and go; but don't let me hear a sound from them, or I will come and eat you up!"

The man kills the two cubs, and pours their blood and milk into a bottle of skin, and loads it upon his horse, and he also steals the lion's own two cubs. Perhaps he goes far, or perhaps he goes only a little way, when the old lioness overtakes him, and, seizing the man, she demands,—“Hey, now! Where are you taking my cubs?” “I want them; I won't kill them; I will take good care of them; I need them,” said the man. “Well, if that is so, take good care of them, and go,” says the lioness.

The young man goes on. He goes till he comes to the old woman's *konak*. “Good day, little mother,” he cries. “Good day, my son. Did you bring the milk?” says she. “Wallah! Indeed I did,” he replies.

At night the young man sleeps, but the old woman gets up and pours the lion's milk out of the bottle. Then she takes some goat's milk, and, mixing it with water, puts it in place of the lion's milk. The man doesn't know it. In the morning, he takes the milk, mounts his horse, and goes to his mother. His mother drinks it, and exclaims,—“There! My soul rests!”

The next morning, after the son has gone a-hunting, the young man's mother says to the goblin,—“Goblin, may the light of your day be cut off! (Curse you!). Didn't I tell you to let me know of a road with no returning for my son, so that he might go and not come back? Now, if you don't do it, I will kill you.” “What can I do?” the goblin answered. “That lad is a wonderful fellow. He is a valiant one. Wherever we send him, he returns. This time let him go and bring you the Water of Life.” The mother spreads dry wafers in her bed, and throws herself down on them. In the evening the son comes, and the mother cries, as the crusts crumble under her,—“Ah, my son, I am dying!”

“Why should you die?” cries her son. “I will bring you whatever you wish.” And the mother says,—“Son, I have heard that, if you were to bring me some of the Water of Life to drink, I should recover; but, if not, there is no hope for me; I shall die.”



In the morning the son mounts his horse, takes the two lion-cubs, and goes. He goes until he reaches the *konak* of the old woman. "Good evening, little mother," he says. "God's blessing upon you, my son," she replies. "Where are you going?" "I am going to get some of the Water of Life for my mother. She is ill," he answered. "Oh, my son, you are deceiving her," she exclaimed. "I am going, whether or no." Then the old woman says,—“Son, whatever advice I have given you heretofore, you have followed, and you returned safely, but this time you will go and not return. Whoever has gone on that errand has never returned!” “Why not, little mother?” he asks. The old woman replies,—“You have to go and put your pitcher before the mouth of the stream, and you will sleep for seven days and seven nights. A serpent, a scorpion, a devil, and a wild beast will come and destroy you; there is no escape possible.”

“Let whatever is to happen, happen,” said the man. “I will go, and God will be with me.” Then he takes his lion-cubs, and goes. He goes until he reaches the fountain of the Water of Life. He sets his pitcher in front of the fountain. He is overcome with sleep; he falls from his horse. He remains asleep for seven days and seven nights. A serpent comes; a scorpion comes; a wild beast comes; the lions tear them piecemeal. When the seven days and seven nights are over, the young man awakes. He sees that the lion-cubs are covered with blood. He takes them, and gives them a good washing. He fills his pitcher with the Water of Life, puts it on his horse, and returns. They return to the old woman's *konak*, and put up there for the night. The old woman asks,—“Have you brought it?” “Indeed I have,” he replies. But the old woman says,—“It is not you who have brought it. God and the lion-cubs guarded you, or you would not have returned with it.”

The young man goes to sleep. The old woman empties the Water of Life from the pitcher, and fills it with some other water. The young man is ignorant of it. In the morning he puts it on his horse, and goes and says to his mother, and says,—“Mother, lo! I have brought you the Water of Life!” His mother takes it, and drinks, and cries,—“There! my soul rests. I shall grow stronger now.”

The young man goes a-hunting. The mother rises and says to the goblin,—“Goblin, may the light of your sun be cut off! I tell you to show my son a road with no returning, that he may go, and not come back.” The goblin says,—“Wallah, your son is a strong man! Wherever we send him he comes back. I don’t know where else to send him.” “Then I’ll tell my son to kill you,” cries the mother angrily.

In the evening the son comes, and the mother says,—“Come, lay your head upon my lap and go to sleep, my son.” The son goes to sleep on his mother’s knees. The son has three marked hairs in his head. The mother twists them around her hand, and pulls them out. The son dies. Then the mother says to the goblin,—“Come draw your sword and cut off his head.” “I won’t come,” said the goblin. “My hand will not cut off that lad’s head.” Then the mother rises and takes the sword, and cuts the lad to pieces. She casts the little finger under the wall. She stuffs the bits into a haircloth sack, and sets it aside. The lion-cubs wake up. They come and take the sack, and carry it to the house of the old woman. The old woman fits the bones together, and also the pieces of flesh, sets the head on the body, and only the little finger is lacking. The lion-cubs return and find the little finger also, and carry it to the old woman, and she fastens it in its place. Then she pours lion’s milk over the young man. He becomes whole, like one new born. She gives him the Water-melon of Immortality to smell, and he sneezes. She pours the Water of Life over him, and he comes to life and arises. He asks the old woman,—“What happened to me, little mother?” She replies,—“Why, my son, your mother killed you.” “Then how did I come to life?” he asks.

Then the old woman says,—“When you brought the lion’s milk, I kept it, and I gave you some other milk to take to your mother. I did the same with the Water-melon of Immortality, and the Water of Life. Your mother had killed you, and stuffed you into a haircloth sack. The lion-cubs brought the sack. I fitted your flesh and bones together. I poured the Milk of Immortality over you, and you became whole. I gave you the Water-melon of Immortality to smell, and you sneezed; I poured the Water of Life over you, and you came to life, and arose.”

"Well, mother," the young man replied, "You have done this kindness unto God. I cannot repay you. May God reward you." He goes and brings a load of gold, and a load of silver, and gives them to the old woman. "Now stay, and pray for me," he says, "while I go after my food."

The young man takes his lion-cubs, and goes to find his mother. The young man calls the lions by name. The lions spring upon the mother. One seizes her by one foot, the other by the other, and she is torn in two. They toss her into the sky, and she falls to earth. There remains the goblin. The goblin throws himself down off the wall. The lion-cubs reach him, and seize him, toss him up to the sky, catch him, and tear him into a thousand bits.

The young man, his wives, and his lions remain and live a happy life. They attained unto their desires.

May God grant us our desires.

J. S. WINGATE.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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LORD AVEBURY ON MARRIAGE, TOTEMISM, AND RELIGION :  
A REPLY TO MR. LANG.

(Vol. xxii., pp. 402-25.)

It is a pleasure, and I may say an honour, to have a discussion with Mr. Lang. In the first place he is always courteous, and even generous; in the second he has carefully studied his subject; and in the third he is obviously anxious, not to confute an opponent, but to arrive at the truth.

His article, "Lord Avebury on Marriage, Totemism, and Religion," is no exception.

*Marriage.*—The first question to which Mr. Lang refers is that of Marriage. He believes that "Man began with individual families," whereas I have suggested that he commenced under what, for want of a better term, I have called "Communal Marriage." Hearne tells us that among the Hudson Bay Indians "it has ever been the custom . . . for the men to wrestle for any woman to whom they are attached; and, of course, the strongest party always carries off the prize."<sup>1</sup>

Richardson confirms this as regards the Copper Indians. He "more than once saw a stronger man assert his right to take the wife of a weaker countryman. Anyone may challenge another to wrestle, and, if he overcomes, may carry off the wife as a prize."<sup>2</sup>

In these cases a man is living with a woman: another man, No. 2, knocks down No. 1, and carries off the woman. Is this a marriage ceremony? Next day another man, No. 3, even stronger

<sup>1</sup> S. Hearne, *A Journey from the Prince of Wales's Fort etc.* (1795), p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Richardson, *Boat Journey*, vol. ii., p. 24.

than No. 2, may come along, and the same tragedy may be repeated. Can the result be called a true marriage? Surely not. Mr. Lang refers to the case of the Gorilla, where each male lives for a time with a female in solitary state.<sup>3</sup> I feel great difficulty in understanding how under a solitary life any progress could be made; and have suggested the habits of the social Quadrumana, which live in often large troops, comprising several males, as probably more nearly resembling those of our ancestors.

I cannot, however, ask the Editor to find room for the evidence which I have brought forward in *The Origin of Civilisation* and in *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion*.

*Origin of Marriage.*—If, then, there was a time when the institution of marriage did not exist, how did it originate?

I have suggested that, if a man captured a woman from another tribe, he acquired a recognised right of possession. But, says Mr. Lang, how could this apply to marriage within the tribe? "When men took to capturing women within their own tribe, the tribe would be broken up by internal blood-feuds. A tribe which practised, as a rule, capture of brides within the tribe would be weakened by internal dispeace." Mr. Lang has referred to one or two cases in which I have overlooked passages of his. In this case he does not notice that, as long ago as 1866, I anticipated and answered, or attempted to answer, this objection. I referred<sup>4</sup> to the numerous cases of what I called "expiation for marriage," in which the prior rights of the tribe were admitted and redeemed, before the marriage was recognised. When such arrangements were amicably made, the final ceremony was very generally a mock marriage by capture.

This symbol of marriage by capture is very widely distributed. It occurs in many Indian tribes, in the Malay Peninsula, among

<sup>3</sup> He points out an important omission in a quotation from Mr. Darwin which I much regret. My copyist is generally very correct, and unfortunately I omitted to notice the error. It does not, indeed, affect my argument, but makes my difference from Mr. Darwin greater than would otherwise appear. I cannot, of course, put my opinion against Darwin's, but I am disposed to think that, if he had had before him the evidence which has since accumulated, he might have modified his views.

<sup>4</sup> *The Origin of Civilisation etc.*, pp. 130 *et seq.*

the Mongols, in Korea, in Siberia, among the Esquimaux, the Redskins, various South American tribes, in Australia, Tasmania, Fiji, and New Zealand, in Africa among Negroes and Kaffirs, and in Arabia, Circassia, Greece, and various parts of Europe.

The widespread and indeed almost universal occurrence of this interesting custom cannot, I think, be accounted for unless my suggestion is adopted. Marriage by capture must surely have been a stern reality, before it was so widely adopted as a marriage custom.

*Totemism.*—My suggestion was,<sup>5</sup> and is, “that if a group was led by a man who had been named after an animal, the members of the group took the same name; if the leader was a Lion or a Kangaroo, the group came to call themselves Lions or Kangaroos, and to assume some mysterious relation with the animal whose name they bore.”

To this Mr. Lang objects that “Lord Avebury’s theory of totemism is, as far as I can see, a combination of two contradictory hypotheses; thus it needs drastic modifications before it can be discussed with any profit. Moreover it does not explain the existence of totem-kins within each phratry whose members may not marry each other. No man or woman, say, of Frog totem, in phratry Crow, may marry a member of Crow, Snipe, Duck, Carpet Snake, Frog, or any other totem, within their own phratry. It does not appear that Lord Avebury tries to explain the origin of this arrangement.”<sup>6</sup>

I must admit that in my earlier writings I have used the word family somewhat too laxly. But, as Mr. Lang expects me to deal with his present views only, so I may claim the same right, and his objection does not apply to my view as quoted above, in which I have repeated the opinion expressed in 1866, though it was not then, I admit, quite carefully worded.

As Mr. Lang truly says, in these discussions we are apt to misunderstand one another, and I confess I do not see why my suggestion, which was also practically Herbert Spencer’s, is described as “a combination of two contradictory hypotheses.”

*Exogamy.*—I have suggested that Exogamy was a consequence

<sup>5</sup> *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 410.

of marriage by capture. Two neighbouring tribes, say Kroki and Kunit, obtained wives from one another by capture. Gradually there would be a number of Kroki women and their children among the Kunits, and of Kunit women and their children among the Krokis. The two tribes would be more and more closely associated. The unmarried women under my suggestion would find their position inferior to that of those who were married. But by long, and perhaps immemorial, custom Kroki had married Kunit and Kunit had married Kroki. Hence, even if the two tribes more or less coalesced, and marriage by capture in reality was gradually replaced by amicable arrangements, still Kroki would marry Kunit and Kunit would marry Kroki. Moreover, as years rolled on, the rule would acquire more and more force.

But, then, Mr. Lang asks,—“How does Lord Avebury explain the fact that, in the Buandik tribe, no one of the Ti-tree, Owl, and Root totems may marry a person of the Fish-hawk, Pelican, Crow, and Snake totem?”

My suggestion is that the original phratries, to use the term suggested by Mr. Lang, became inconveniently large, and were broken up into several totems. The prohibition against the original phratry would then naturally be extended to the fractions.

*Religion.*—I now come to the question of Religion. I have maintained that the lowest races have nothing that can be called a Religion. Mr. Lang considers that they have.

Whether a savage has or has not any ideas of a Deity, of Creation, etc., the moment he is questioned, the moment a missionary attempts to teach him, ideas are put into his head, which may or may not have occurred to him before. Moreover, one of the first things a missionary would attempt to teach would be the Creation of the World.

As Mr. Kidd says of the Kaffirs, “though they believe a very great deal, they do not quite know what they actually believe, for they never sit down and reflect on their beliefs. And the moment you try to find out what the Kafir believes, your very questions, unless carefully thought out beforehand, are sure to suggest to them ideas which they can easily fit in with their other ideas.

...Your very question will cause the development and crystallisation of their ideas."<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Lang in his article dwells almost exclusively on the case of the Australians. As regards other low races, I will therefore only refer to the evidence brought forward in my previous books.

He regards "Baiaame" as a Supreme Being or All Father devised for themselves by the natives, independently of missionary teaching.

Mr. Tylor, on the other hand, considered that the evidence pointed "to Baiaame being the missionary translation of the word Creator, used in Scripture lesson-books for God."

"But," says Mr. Lang, "Mr. Hale (*circa* 1840-1842), quoting Mr. Threlkeld, a very early missionary, Baiaame was in full force in 1831, while his name appears in no Scripture lesson-book known to be earlier than the Rev. Mr. Ridley's *Gurri Kamilaroi*, 1856, —(my copy I gave to Mr. Tylor),—the ingenious conjecture of the great anthropologist is erroneous. Lord Avebury writes (p. 163),—"Mr. Lang may challenge (Mr. Tylor's) opinion as that of an anthropologist, however distinguished, whose theories a large part of his book is occupied with controverting." I don't "challenge,"—I prove my case. If Hale's mention of Baiaame "in the year 1840" be "the earliest," his mention avers that Baiaame was being worshipped when the missionaries arrived at Wellington. Consequently Baiaame is not a word coined by a missionary in 1856."

Now what does Mr. Lang claim to have proved? First, that in 1840 the natives had a religion; secondly, that Baiaame was worshipped; and thirdly, that this was before the missionaries arrived at Wellington.

But let us see what Mr. Hale actually said. His words are: "The lack of religious feeling in these natives has already been mentioned. The missionaries have found it impossible, after many years' labor, to make the slightest impression upon them. They do not ascribe this to any attachment, on the part of the blacks, to their own creed, if such it may be called, for they appear to care little about it. Some of their ceremonies, which partook of a religious character, have been lately discontinued, but nothing

<sup>7</sup> Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (1904), p. 71.



has been substituted in their place. It is not true, however, as has been frequently asserted, that the natives have no idea of a supreme being, although they do not allow this idea to influence their actions." Then he adds that Baiamai was the maker of all things.<sup>8</sup>

So far then from supporting Mr. Lang's contention, Mr. Hale tells us :

1. That there was a lack of religious feeling in the natives. That some of their ceremonies which he thought "partook of a religious character had been discontinued, and that nothing had been substituted in their place."

2. There is no mention of any worship of Baiame.

3. So far from the belief in Baiame as Creator having existed before the advent of the missionaries, it was after "the missionaries have found it impossible after many years' labor to make the slightest impression upon them." No doubt the missionaries taught the natives that the world was created, and this abstract fact they did not question, but this did not lead to any ceremonies, or prayers, or offerings. I believe that Mohammed originated Mohammedanism, but this does not make me a Mohammedan.

Mr. Lang does not quote any reference to Baiame by Mr. Threlkeld himself, nor, I believe, does any exist. In his *Australian Grammar*, Mr. Threlkeld refers to Koin, but does not mention Baiame.

I still, therefore, agree with Mr. Tylor that the mere acceptance of Baiame as having made the world was an idea derived from the missionaries, and the very passage on which Mr. Lang relies seems to me in accordance with our view, and inconsistent with his.

I do not, however, attach the same importance as Mr. Lang to the question whether the belief that Baiame made the world is aboriginal or derived from missionaries. That the world was made is a very natural idea: that it has always existed, whether true or not, is very difficult to realise, and would hardly occur to a savage. But the mere belief that Baiame made the world is a matter of history or, say, of science. It does not by itself constitute a religion.

<sup>8</sup> H. Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. vi., p. 110.

When we point out that Baiame died, that he was deceived and wounded, Mr. Lang replies that ridiculous and degrading stories were also told about Zeus, and that his grave was said to exist in Crete. That is true, but to Zeus temples were built, offerings were made, prayers were addressed, and ceremonies were instituted. Of course we should not expect a people who had no houses themselves to erect temples, but Baiame had no offerings, no prayers, and no ceremonies. Hence the belief in him, however it may have originated, can surely not be called a "religion." Moreover Diodorus points out that the Jupiter whose tomb was in Crete was not the Jupiter of Olympus.

Mr. Lang admits<sup>9</sup> that "There is an element of humour in all things. Mr. Manning, in 1882, appealed to his friend, Mr. Mann, to give testimony to the excellency of Black Andy, the native from whom he derived most of his notes, which were corroborated by other black witnesses. Mr. Mann arose and replied that "he had never met an aborigine who had any true belief in a Supreme Being." On cross-examination, they always said that they had got their information from a missionary or other resident."

In *The Making of Religion*, Mr. Lang expressed the opinion that Prof. Roskoff of Vienna, in his *Das Religionswesen der Rohesten Naturvölker*, had "confuted my statements." I am glad that as a result of my reply he says,—"I am happy to withdraw the saying."

That somewhat clears the ground.

He still, however, maintains that even the lowest savages have a religion. In his article he confines the question to the Australians, and theirs is certainly a good case.

I cannot ask for space to repeat all the evidence brought forward in my previous works. I will confine myself to a few of the best and most recent observers.

On such a question the opinion of Mr. Howitt is entitled to great weight. He began by supposing that the Australians believed in the existence of a supernatural being, who might reasonably be termed a deity. Gradually, however, more intimate acquaintance with the natives weakened, and finally removed, this view. There is no worship, he says, but, "although it cannot be alleged that these aborigines have consciously any form of

<sup>9</sup> *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii., p. 11.

religion, it may be said that their beliefs are such that, under favourable conditions, they might have developed into an actual religion, based on the worship of *Mungan-ngaua* or *Baiame*." "The blacks," he concludes, "had no knowledge of God, and . . . did not practice prayer." The so-called "All-father" was a former chief, and is now "the Headman in the sky country, the analogue of the Headman of the tribe on the earth." "The Australian aborigines do not recognise any divinity, good or evil, nor do they offer any kind of sacrifice, as far as my knowledge goes."<sup>10</sup>

In Mr. Thomas' careful work on *The Natives of Australia* (1906), in which he summarises the researches of previous observers, prayer is not mentioned, sacrifices and offerings are dismissed as non-existent, and there is no question of propitiation. There is a belief in ghosts, but that is practically all. They have long and elaborate ceremonials, which, however, are magical, not religious; no deity has any part in them. The Australians have no sacred groves, or lakes, or mountains.

Lastly, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, whose work Mr. Lang calls "the best and most thoroughly scientific study ever made of such a race," say:—"We searched carefully in the hope of finding traces of a belief in such a being, but the more we got to know of the details of the native beliefs, the more evident it became that they had not the faintest conception of any individual who might in any way be described as a "High God of the Mysteries.""<sup>11</sup>

I had hoped that, after all, the difference between Mr. Lang's views and mine was not perhaps so fundamental as might at first sight appear.

In the last edition of *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1906) he said:—"As to the Australians, I mean no more than that, among endless low myths, some of them possess . . . the germs of a sympathetic religion."<sup>12</sup> A germ of religion is, however, a very different thing from a religion.

While for the reasons above given confining my reply mainly to the Australians, the evidence as regards some other races seems to me also conclusive. Take, for instance, two races,—

<sup>10</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 491, 503, 507, 756.

<sup>11</sup> *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 503.

<sup>12</sup> P. xviii.

the Andamanese and Fuegians. Mr. A. R. Brown, who was sent by the Board of Anthropological Studies of Cambridge specially to study the Mincopies, reports as the result of his enquiries that "the present Andamanese certainly do not believe in a Supreme Being."<sup>13</sup> As regards the Fuegians, Messrs. Hyades and Deniker, who spent a year carefully studying them, tell us that "Nous n'avons constaté chez les Fuégiens aucun signe de *sentiment religieux*."<sup>14</sup>

In his interesting *The Making of Religion* it seemed to me that Mr. Lang attached undue importance to crystal-gazing, clairvoyance, and the supposed supernatural powers of savage sorcerers and modern media. He asks why should I regret "because we investigate human faculties." I do not: but cannot believe that the study of crystal-gazing and ghost stories,—of Mr. D. D. Home floating in the air, of the visions of Miss X., Mrs. Piper, and other American mediums,—are likely to throw any light on the great mystery of existence, nor can I agree with him<sup>15</sup> in regarding them "as grounds of hope, or, at least, as tokens that men need not yet despair." We have, I cannot but think, surer reasons for hope, and better methods of investigation.

AVEBURY.

#### THE "FOLKLORE FELLOWS": THEIR ORGANISATION AND OBJECTS.

(Vol. xxii, p. 529.)

I SHOULD be glad of an opportunity of explaining in greater detail the organisation and objects of the "FF" ("Folklore Fellows") referred to in the last number of *Folk-Lore*.

"FF" is a Society of folklorists scattered in different countries; its aim is mutual aid in making folklore material accessible, partly by private contributions to central collections and partly by publications. It is organised so that in each country with

<sup>13</sup> *Man*, 1910, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *Mission Scientifique des Cap Horn*, tom. vii., *Anthropologie, Ethnographie*, p. 253.

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 304.

members there is a centre, which may be a society, library, or the like; in every place where a collection of folklore is to be found, it is possible to create such a local centre of "FF." The members may send enquiries on any particular subject to the local centres, (to any of them or to all), or to any fellow members. It is optional for collectors to furnish their own materials to others, but naturally the collector who is most generous in his help is the most likely to have his help readily reciprocated. Copies and extracts from collections are supplied at moderate charges, fixed by the Society, and some collections and scientists have in this way already received considerable quantities of materials. Besides this, the Society publishes a little periodical, *FF Communications*, financed by the Finnish Academy of Science; this contains accounts of the contents of single collections, so that those who are in search of information can ascertain where it is likely to be obtained, but above all it contains detailed catalogues of certain classes of material. The chief enterprise so far has been in connection with Aarne's "System of Tales," (not a classification of incidents, but a classification under types of the actual *märchen*, just as Child's great *Popular Ballads* gives the actual ballads). The "FF" is applying the Aarne system, enlarging it as required, to a number of collections of *märchen*, the classifications of two of which have already been published in the second volume of *FF Communications*. Other classifications, dealing particularly with collections from northern and eastern peoples, will follow.

I should like to suggest that the Folk-Lore Society might derive and bestow much benefit from the formation of an English section of "FF," for the interchange of material with collaborators in other countries. The cost is trifling, as each local centre determines whether it levies any contributions upon its own members. No subscription to the general Society is required, and all members receive *FF Communications* at half the publication price, which is regulated by the size of the numbers, and is always small. For example, the first volume is published at 4 francs and supplied to members for 2 francs, and the second volume at 8 francs but 4 francs to members.

Besides the periodical issues of *FF Communications* there is

also a series of large works, *FF Publications*, which may be obtained by members at a reduced price. Such works must be recommended by "FF," and be written in English, French, or German, or be accompanied by summaries in one of these languages, but members need not purchase them. So far only a *Northern Series* has been published, comprising five volumes of ballads and folk-music from Scandinavian and Finnish sources, but new series may follow. *FF Publication* will, it is hoped; be a mark of honour which can be conferred on a folklore publication.

In conclusion, I should like to add a short account of the organisation of folklorist work in the Scandinavian countries.

In Denmark there is a public institution, *Dansk Folkemindesamling* (The National Collection of Folklore), connected with the Royal Library. To aid it, a private society, *Danmarks Folkeminder* (The Folklore of Denmark), has been founded, and is at work collecting old traditions, and publishing in a popular form the material collected and matter relating to it. In this way the National Collection is a centre of active work, and applications to "FF" in Denmark are addressed to *Dansk Folkemindesamling*, Copenhagen.

In Norway all the private collections are to be assembled in 1912 into *Norsk Folkemindesamling*, which has obtained pretty rooms in the new building of the University Library at Christiania, but as a quite independent institution.

In Iceland a considerable number of collections is to be found in the National Library at Reykjavik. A local section of "FF" has recently been founded in close connection with this library.

In Sweden there are collections in different places; a union of them is under consideration, but not yet accomplished.

At Helsingfors in Finland there are great manuscript collections belonging to the Society of Finnish Literature, which has also published much folklore. This Society is the centre of folklore studies in Finland, but Swedish traditions in Finland are dealt with by the Swedish Literary Society at Helsingfors. Under the direction of Professor Kaarle Krohn, Finland has set up a high standard in the systematic collection and admirable classification of folklore.

In all Scandinavian countries, therefore, we have obtained, or expect soon to obtain, centres where records are received and arranged, and owing to such centres it has been easy to gather sections of "FF." We have also arranged with the Confederation of all German Folklore Societies that all its members can obtain the *FF Communications* and other publications at the same price as "FF" members, and this year its President is going to propose a complete affiliation with "FF." Centres for "FF" have also been formed among many Slavonic nations.

I would appeal, therefore, to the English Society, which has been of such great importance in folklore studies, to take in this matter of international collaboration the active part which is due to its past and present position.

AXEL OLRIK.

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#### LANTERN SLIDES; EXHIBITS AT SOCIETY'S MEETINGS.

THE Exhibits and Museum Committee beg to draw the attention of members to the fact that the Society is in possession of a series of lantern slides, (mainly illustrative of British folklore), which are available for lectures and similar occasions, as it is the desire of the Council to encourage this mode of furthering the objects of the Society. The Committee will be pleased to forward a list of the slides, together with the conditions under which they are issued, to any member communicating with it, c/o the Secretary, 11 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

The Committee will be very grateful for the gift from members or their friends of any slides of folklore subjects which they may feel disposed to add to the Society's collection, or to have notice of any slides which members would be prepared to lend to the Society for exhibition at its meetings.

It would also remind members that locked exhibit cases are in use for the display of objects at the Society's meetings, and that it will be glad to take the responsible charge of suitable objects which any member is willing to lend for exhibition.

THE EXHIBITS AND MUSEUM COMMITTEE.

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## FUNERAL FEAST: COMMUNAL EATING OF THE CORPSE.

IN his *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, (Lahore, 1911, vol. ii., pp. 449), Mr. H. A. Rose gives a remarkable instance of the survival of the custom of communal eating of the corpse at the funeral feast. (See E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., pp. 278 *et seq.*) Among the people of Kanaur on the Upper Sutlej, the only old custom which survives is the annual funeral feast (*srāddha*), called Phulaich (from the Hindu *phul*, "a flower," because until the funeral rite is performed a year after a death they cannot wear new clothes or flowers). At this rite a he-goat, reared in the dead man's name, is dressed in his clothes, sacrificed, and eaten by the members of his kindred.

W. CROOKE.

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THE FOLKLORE OF EARTHWORKS.

IT seems curious to me that the folklore recorded in connection with earthworks is apparently so scanty compared with that of megalithic monuments. Even the burial-mounds that have traditions attached to them are comparatively scarce. Whether this is because this branch of folklore has been neglected, or because this class of antiquities has failed to impress the imagination of the folk, is at present a problem which awaits solution, and I should be glad of any assistance to that end which fellow-members of the Folk-Lore Society can give. (Cf. *ante*, p. 9.)

May I then ask members who are in a position to collect folklore of any description connected with ancient earthworks or burial-mounds to report it to *Folk-Lore*, or to send it to me direct? The character of the earthwork or mound should be recorded as closely as possible, and also, of course, any local name for it. If it has ever been scientifically explored, the result should be given, if known to the writer, and in the case of mounds it would be well to state in every case if they are known to have been opened, or show any signs of it.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

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## REVIEWS.

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KING ARTHUR IN HISTORY AND LEGEND. By W. LEWIS JONES.  
Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1911. 16mo, pp. vi + 145.

THIS is a concise and, on the whole, up-to-date outline of the Arthurian tradition in its historic and romantic aspects. It is more satisfactory from the former point of view than from the latter. Professor Jones appears to be decidedly more at home in the comparatively limited field of the pseudo-historic chronicles than in the wider, and more perplexing, area of romance. With the general conclusions drawn as to the historic element at the base of the Arthurian tradition most authorities to-day will agree, though perhaps more stress might have been laid on the marked fairy element in the story, *e.g.* to the author of *Brun de la Montagne* Arthur is lord of all fairy-haunted spots, wherever they might be found, and to him Oberon, the well-known fairy king, should, of right, bequeath his possessions.<sup>1</sup>

Certain of Professor Jones' statements with regard to the romantic literature are by no means in accord with the results of modern research. On p. 9 he speaks of the "ecclesiastical exploitation of Arthurian romance." It is true that certain of the later forms of the Grail Quest have been used for the purpose of moral edification, but it is a very curious and significant fact, often overlooked, that the Church never adopted the Grail legend, nor acknowledged it in any way; in fact, it is more than probable that it was officially discouraged, the sudden, and complete, cessation of literary activity in that field being a remarkable and suspicious phenomenon. Arthurian romance, as a whole, was never exploited by ecclesiastical writers. Its whole character

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Huon de Bordeaux*.

is as mundane as well can be ! The statements as to Chrétien de Troyes' work (pp. 101, 106) are completely out of date. Chrétien certainly says he wrote of "le roi Marc et Iseut la blonde," but that one sentence is all we know on the subject ; to say that this poem, or it may have been *lai*,<sup>2</sup> was "the earliest poetical version of the story on a large scale" is a pure flight of imagination, executed in the teeth of the now generally accepted theory that the earliest *Tristan* poem was composed in England.<sup>3</sup> If there is one point we are all pretty well agreed upon now it is that *Tristan* is in no sense a French legend. As to the prose version, the older portions derive from Thomas. Nor do any of the modern school of critics now believe that Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* is the first literary presentation of the *Perceval* story.<sup>4</sup>

On p. 116 Professor Jones does grave injustice to our vernacular Arthurian literature previous to Malory. Does he not know the fine versions contained respectively in the Thornton and Harleian Mss., and published by the Early English Text Society ?<sup>5</sup> Malory used both of these freely, and no small portion of the praise bestowed on the last books of his compilation belongs rightfully to the author of the beautiful stanzaic Harleian poem, whose verses Malory has embodied, with scarcely any alteration, in his text. To this unknown writer, and not to Malory, belong "the waters wap and waves wan" quoted by Professor Jones, and the final interview between Guenevere and Lancelot, of which there is no trace in the French text. I sincerely share the writer's admiration for Malory, but I hope, when a second edition of this little manual is called for, he will render justice to the unknown and most true poet whose rightful laurels have so long been worn by the prose writer. Malory's crown of fame can well afford to lose a few borrowed leaves !

JESSIE L. WESTON.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the late M. Gaston Paris' study on *Cligès*, *Journal des Savants*, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Bédier's edition of Thomas' *Tristan*, Société des Anciens Textes Français.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dr. Brugger's "Enserrement Merlin," *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache*, vol. xxix.

<sup>5</sup> No. 8 and Extra series No. lxxviii.

SIR PERCEVAL OF GALLES. A Study of the Sources of the Legend.

By REGINALD HARVEY GRIFFITH. Chicago: University Press, 1911. 8vo, pp. viii + 131.

THE main object of this Study is literary,—a critical examination of the relations between the English poem and the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes,—but the ground traversed by the writer, and the results arrived at, belong essentially to the domain of folklore. The late Mr. Alfred Nutt, in his *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, had already pointed out the analogy existing between certain versions of the *Perceval* story, in which figures a hideous hag, possessed of a magic balsam by means of which she can revive the slain, and certain popular Celtic folk-tales. Mr. Griffith has carried the investigation further, and in chapter iii., entitled “The Red Knight-Witch-Uncle Story,” he demonstrates clearly that a number of incidents, which a less searching criticism had ascribed to the inventive genius of Chrétien de Troyes, are, as a matter of fact, parts of a folk-tale which has enjoyed, and apparently still enjoys, considerable popularity in Scandinavia and the British Isles. The tale deals with the adventures of a youth, brought up in solitude, who comes to the court of a king at the moment when the monarch is smarting under an insult inflicted by an enemy of long standing. The youth avenges the king, and at the same time succours relatives of his own, oppressed by the witch mother of the king’s foe. Mr. Griffith gives a large number of variants of this tale, drawn principally from Celtic sources. The result appears to establish decisively the folklore character of a section of the *Perceval* story, the provenance of which had hitherto been inadequately recognized. Modern criticism seems to be bringing out more and more clearly the fact that in this story we have, not so much a folk-tale, as a folk-tale complex, the component elements of which are presented in varying combinations. That such a complex could be the offspring of a work of purely literary invention, all folklore students would allow to be highly improbable. When the putative parent shows itself to be demonstrably lacking in important and necessary features, which are nevertheless preserved in what are claimed to be its direct descendants, the parentage will be held, by those conversant with the laws of story-transmission, to be frankly impossible. On the merits

of chapter iii. alone, Mr. Griffith may be held to have proved his case.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

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THE BLEEDING LANCE. By A. C. I. BROWN. Modern Language Association of America, 1911. 8vo, pp. 59.

IN this brief Study Professor Brown, who is an ardent advocate of the Celtic (specifically Irish) origin of the Arthurian stories, attempts to demonstrate such an origin for the Bleeding Lance of the Grail tradition, which he equates with the fiery and poisonous *Luin* of the *Bruden dá Derga*. That the talismans of the Grail castle, taken as a group, may be paralleled with the Four Treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann I am quite prepared to admit; I believe the Grail symbols will be eventually recognised as being of extreme antiquity and world-wide diffusion, and that, wherever found, they are connected with a Nature ritual the object of which was to promote, or restore, fertility. The Tuatha Dé Danann were, as Mr. Alfred Nutt pointed out in his *Voyage of Bran*, deities of growth and fertility, and that such symbols should be connected with them is only to be expected. But to trace, as Professor Brown attempts to do, a direct connection between the Irish stories and the Arthurian legend, is another matter. For my own part I can see no connecting link. The parallelism is faint, and the efforts made to press the Irish tales into the service of Arthurian criticism seem to me often overstrained and unwise. The opponents of the Celtic view seize on the exaggerations, and make of them an excuse for ignoring the traces of possible relationship. The two groups are doubtless offshoots from a kindred stock, but of independent growth and development. The value placed by Professor Brown on the Balan story is, I think exaggerated; the version is manifestly a late piecing together of *motifs* taken from different sources, and the only text in which it occurs, the 'Huth' *Merlin* Suite, is a part of the latest and most contaminated version of the Arthurian cycle (cf. note 4, p. 117 *supra*). While agreeing in the main with the writer's views as to the ultimate origin of the Arthurian

tradition, I believe his method of arriving at the proximate source to be seriously mistaken.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

THE TWO KNIGHTS OF THE SWAN, LOHENGRIN AND HELYAS.

By ROBERT JAFFRAY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910. 8vo, pp. ix + 123. Ill.

THIS little study on a theme, the critical problems of which have not yet been thoroughly investigated, is interesting, but misnamed. There are not two Knights of the Swan. Lohengrin is simply Helyas, in a more mythical setting, and divested of his claims to historic reality. As a brief introduction to the study of an interesting problem in romance literature, the book will be useful, and the information as to the whereabouts, and contents, of the Mss. is of decided value, but the author's excursions into the field of literary criticism are not happy. There can be no doubt that Wolfram found the connection of the Swan Knight with Perceval in his source, of which Gerbert's citation is a brief summary. The fact that Gerbert also treats the story as a 'post-scriptum,' introducing it after Perceval's reunion with the lady of his love, and at what he states definitely to be the conclusion of the "*vraie estoire*," is too significant to be ignored. When we find two writers agreeing, not only in the combination of two distinctly independent stories, but in the manner, and that a particularly awkward one, of that combination, it is obvious that there is a connection of some sort between them. Wolfram is certainly the earlier writer, but as certainly there is no trace in French literature of a knowledge of Wolfram's poem, and Gerbert has the earlier version of the story. The only reasonable conclusion is that both drew from the same original source. That Gerbert does at this point show a change of source is undeniable. Up to this moment his poem shows distinct parallels with the Chrétien-Wolfram form of the story; from this point on the parallels are with the more ecclesiastical versions, i.e. *Perlesvaus*, the *Quest*, and *Grand-Saint-Graal*. At what moment, and under whose direction, the Swan Knight passed into the mystical cycle of the Grail, we do not know, nor do we

know whether he did so under his original name or not; further research on the subject might well produce additional, and interesting, evidence.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

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ANCIENT HUNTERS AND THEIR MODERN REPRESENTATIVES. By W. J. SOLLAS. Macmillan & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. xvi + 416. Ill.

ANTHROPOLOGY. By R. R. MARETT. (Home University Library), Williams & Norgate, n.d. 16mo, pp. 256.

PREHISTORIC MAN. By W. L. H. DUCKWORTH. (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature). Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1912. 16mo, pp. 156.

A COMPREHENSIVE account of palaeolithic man, long demanded by the reading public, has now been provided by Professor Sollas, and the fine series of diagrams and drawings of skulls, sites, implements, animals, and examples of prehistoric art add greatly to its value. Its distinguishing feature is the elaborate attempt to identify the now extinct Tasmanian race with the Chelleans; the Australian natives with the Mousterians; the Bushmen of South Africa with the Aurignacians; and the Eskimo with the Magdaleneans. Though these identifications are supported by a large mass of evidence, the student may feel inclined to suspect that the influence of environment has been to some extent obscured by a too rigid insistence on resemblance of material culture. Professor Sollas also, in a tentative way, proposes a chronology of the prehistoric period which will not satisfy the most extreme thinkers of the two rival schools. While some writers claim for the Neolithic period alone an existence of some 100,000 years, Professor Sollas suggests that about 17,000 years may have passed since the close of the last glacial epoch, and he would place the Magdalenean period some 12,000 years ago. Whatever view may be taken of these racial equations and estimates of time limits, the book, with its easy, graphic style and mastery of a wide literature, must commend itself to all readers.

In Mr. Marett's small book we find an immense mass of well-arranged fact and theory treated in a clear and witty style, which admirably fits it for popular reading. On the question of racial origin he is well justified in maintaining a position of scepticism. He craves a final test of race distinctions, which is as yet not forthcoming. He admits a certain degree of plasticity in head form, and he accepts the view of Professor Boas that the skull may be to some extent modified under the influence of environment. The book, as a whole, is admirably suited for general reading and teaching purposes, and will prove of the greatest value to field-workers throughout the Empire.

Mr. Duckworth is less advanced in dealing with the present position of the anthropometrical problem. His book will be useful for its clear and well-illustrated survey of the various types of prehistoric skulls. In this connection it may be noted that in his recent first Hunterian lecture on the remarkable skeleton recently unearthed near Ipswich,<sup>1</sup> Professor Arthur Keith expresses the opinion that in studying ancient man perhaps too much attention has been devoted to the skull, and he is inclined to fall back on the tibia, which is so closely associated with man's power of locomotion, as a test of the stages in his physical evolution.

It is a good omen for the future of anthropology that a large public is ready to interest itself in such a survey as that of Professor Sollas and in two such excellent manuals as those of Mr. Marett and Mr. Duckworth.

W. CROOKE.

THE THUNDERWEAPON IN RELIGION AND FOLKLORE. A Study in Comparative Archaeology. By CHR. BLINKENBERG. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1911. Demy 8vo, pp. xii + 122. Ill.

This enlarged English edition of a Danish publication utilizes the contributions of Sir John Evans, Montelius, Cogels, Cartailhac, and Andree, Dr. Feilberg's unpublished collections, and much first-hand material from Scandinavia and India. Help has been given by the Danish Folklore Collection (p. 113 *supra*), and a

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, Feb. 27, 1912.

map shows graphically the three areas of Denmark in which the thunderstone is (*a*) a stone implement or the like, (*b*) a belemnite, and (*c*) a fossil sea-urchin. An illustrated account of stone axes on Dravidian altars in south India throws light on cults of Greek cities in Asia, Crete, etc. The antiquity of the group of beliefs seems indicated by their uniformity over all the Old World, from Japan to Ireland, Siberia to India, and Norway to the Guinea Coast, although they are faint in districts such as Iceland, where thunderstorms are rare. In the East Indies as in Denmark a genuine thunderstone protects stuff wound round it from fire; in Yunnan as in Germany thunderbolts return above ground after a time; and in India as in Sweden thunderbolts are associated with cattle diseases and milk. The author's account of Buddhist ritual thunderbolts omits the unusual 'nine-pointed' form, and the references for meteorites called thunderstones are very incomplete. The fall of meteorites was probably at least a contributory cause of the thunderbolt idea, which the author ascribes only to the linking of thunder with the crash and sparks produced by a stone axe; and the vitreous rods and tubes (fulgurites) produced by lightning strokes in sand and certain rocks (Armenia, Germany, etc.) may have fostered the notion. The book is a valuable encyclopædia of its subject, but its usefulness is sadly marred by the absence of an index.

A. R. WRIGHT.

THE WORLD OF DREAMS. By HAVELOCK ELLIS. Constable & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. xii + 288.

THE Presidential Address for 1912 points out that the future progress of folklore must largely depend on its alliance with other sciences. Of the sister studies psychology may prove one of the most helpful, and dreams must receive attention otherwise than as means of divination (oneiromancy and incubation). When a beginner consults the great library of works on dreams,—ranging from that of Synesius, the Bishop of Cyrene who plays a part in Kingsley's *Hypatia*, to the crowded shelf for the present century,—he can hardly do better than choose Mr. Ellis' *World of Dreams*.



As we expect from this author, his summaries and methods of exposition are clear, and his references to other works for a continuance of the enquiry are numerous. His chapters on "Symbolism in Dreams" (vii.) and "Dreams of the Dead" (viii.) are particularly valuable. Although perhaps not many now adopt Herbert Spencer's estimate of dreams as the origin of the belief in gods and in a future life, it may well be that in dreams we can draw nearer to the ways of thought of early man than in the highly-evolved conditions of savagery. To dreams may be owed far more of myth than is at present suspected; the flying and falling dreams common to most of us may, for example, have given rise to the Icarus story, to saintly levitations, and to much more.

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SURVIVALS IN BELIEF AMONG THE CELTS. By GEORGE HENDERSON. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. xi + 346. 1911.

DR. HENDERSON is more at home in dealing with the primitive beliefs of his native Scottish soil than he is when he travels further afield, and his new volume *Survivals in Belief among the Celts* is a more valuable contribution to folk-history than his previous work on Norse influences in Celtic Scotland. The scientific folklorist may perhaps object that the titles that he gives to the divisions of his subject are more picturesque than systematic, and that his method is wanting in cohesion. But if any subject may escape the trammels of system without severe loss, it is surely the old lore of the Celtic peoples, and such titles as 'The Earthly Journey,' 'The Wanderings of Psyche,' or the 'Finding of the Soul,' serve to whet our appetite more than strictly scientific headings could do. Indeed, Dr. Henderson's somewhat loose and scattered style gives us the pleasant feeling that we are listening to the outpourings of the native story-teller himself, whom we must not interrupt, lest the thread of his narration should be broken, and something of importance forgotten in consequence. As a native-speaker, who has spent some years of his life in a remote parish in Sutherlandshire, Dr. Henderson has had excellent oppor-

tunities of collecting original material, and, if we have any fault to find with a book from which we have ourselves derived so much delight, it is that he has not given us so much as we could wish of his own observations. The book is, however, a real contribution towards the study of comparative Celtic folklore, for he derives his examples from Irish, Gaulish, and Breton, as well as from Scottish tradition. Readers of Anatole le Braz or Sébillot will find constant similarities between Scottish beliefs with regard to the soul and death, and those of Brittany; no doubt this resemblance will be still more strongly accentuated when the author gives us his promised volume especially devoted to death-beliefs. The idea of the escape of the soul from the dead body in the form of a butterfly or moth, a fly or a gnat, (pp. 77-81), is common in Brittany, while the bird-soul is a familiar belief in Irish legend, both in secular tales and lives of the saints.

It is of great interest to trace the transference into Christian belief of pagan ascriptions; we believe that Dr. Henderson has here for the first time pointed out that St. Michael replaces, in present-day charms, a pagan deity or divine power called "Brian," a sort of Gaelic Neptune, called at least in one poem "Brian Michael." In Ireland he has been forgotten, though the name Brian occurs as one of the original triad of Tuatha Dé Danann gods; but in nearly all Irish charms the persons invoked are "St. Brigit with her mantle, St. Michael with his shield," though St. Columcille often, both in Ireland and Scotland, replaces St. Michael or is added to the two others. We know that St. Brigit had a pagan representative of the same name, and now St. Michael can be identified as replacing an ancient deity called Brian; possibly we may yet recover Columcille's pagan ancestor, the third of the triad of protective powers.

To the author's examples of "the apple-tree from Emain" as the sacred tree of the unseen world, we would add the fine poem to Ragnall of the Isles, published from an Irish manuscript belonging to Hennessy in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii (App. I.). It is a much later example of the survival of this tradition than those cited by Dr. Henderson. The late examples of human sacrifice in Scotland are interesting (pp. 261, 270). We are not

so certain as Dr. Henderson is that the stone at Westminster is the Lia Fail! The index is inadequate, and there are frequent slips in the proof-reading. Such words as "wrongously" (p. 13), "wracking pains" (p. 15), "behalf" for belief (p. 55), "subsume" (p. 57), and "Danaan" for Danann (p. 69), should be corrected.

ELEANOR HULL.

COSTUMES, TRADITIONS AND SONGS OF SAVOY. By ESTELLA CANZIANI. Chatto and Windus, 1911. 4to, pp. xiii + 180. Col. pl. and text ill.

THIS is an exceedingly handsome volume, dedicated "to Their Majesties the King and Queen of Italy," and written by a lady who has devoted much time during the last six years to travelling with her father in the most out-of-the-way places in Savoy, fraternising with the peasants, sketching costumes and scenery, and collecting the songs and traditions of the people. The faces and costumes will appeal to the artist, and there are also numerous landscapes, sketches of arms, household utensils, coins, seals, etc., and many songs with their music, so that the book appeals to nearly all classes of readers. The beliefs and traditions are often very curious and poetical, and we will quote one or two examples:—"The origin of the famous edelweiss is traditionally as follows: High up in the eternal snows there is enthroned a white lady—the queen of the snows—and she is surrounded by many little spirits all carrying crystal lances. But if a hunter, or an imprudent Alpinist, tries to climb up to the white lady, she looks and smiles at him. He is fascinated, and regardless of the many dangers, climbs ever higher and higher. He sees nothing but her fair head or shining crown, and the jealous spirits around urge him on, until at last he makes a false step, and perishes in some crevasse. Then the white lady weeps, her tears run over the rocks, where they change into the star-like Edelweiss" (p. 14). This is somewhat like Hans Christian Andersen's *Ice-Maiden*, and the giddiness felt by many persons in looking down from a height has often been ascribed to the influence of the sylphs or other invisible and more or less unfriendly beings.

At page 166 we find the legend of St. Eldrade, similar to that related by Longfellow of the Monk Felix in *The Golden Legend*. He left the abbey in the morning, and was so entranced by the singing of a bird that he did not return till evening, when he discovered that years or centuries had passed, in what had appeared to be a few hours. In various forms we also meet with a similar legend in the East.

There are many strange legends in Miss Canziani's volume, which we have no space to notice, but one or two more may be mentioned. On p. 87 we have a story of a familiar in the form of a black pig, which reminds us of Froissart's Orthon. On pp. 101-2 we find a story of a Black Virgin, and on p. 107 one of the devil in bear form. But the strangest story of all is on pp. 148-9. "The following account of a tragic dance which took place at a village near Gets, was given me by one of the priests. In 1793 the municipality of this place invited the inhabitants to a public ball, which was to take place in the square in front of the church on Good Friday. After it had been going on for some little time, the dancers felt themselves being gradually overcome by some strange irresistible power, and could not stop. Even when the music had ceased altogether, they were obliged to continue. It was a terrible sight, for their faces were drawn with terror, and their hair flew round their heads as they whirled about. For two days this went on without a moment's pause, and it only ended when there were none left to dance. The terrified spectators watched the strange way in which the victims vanished. First their feet disappeared, then their legs grew shorter and shorter, leaving the bodies turning madly round and round. Soon nothing was left but the heads dancing about in couples, the faces convulsed, the eyes bloodshot with terror. At last only tufts of hair were left turning round, two by two, until these also vanished into space. The priest told me that an old man, about thirty years ago, swore, as he was dying, that this was a true account of what he himself had seen. The names of the dancers are preserved in Gets to this day." We do not remember meeting with any exactly similar legend among the stories of the punishment of Sunday and Good Friday dancers.

A good deal is told us, also, of the lives of the present inhabitants of Savoy, and on p. 50 we have an elaborate account of the swaddling of a baby. At the end of each chapter songs and music are quoted,—chiefly in French, but sometimes in dialect.

W. F. KIRBY.

VOLKSLIEDER AUS DEM KANTON AARGAU. Gesammelt von SIGMUND GROLIMUND. (Schriften der *Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, No. 8). Basel: Augustinergasse 8, 1911. 8vo, pp. vi+279.

HERR GROLIMUND, (whose *Volkslieder aus dem Kanton Solothurn* was reviewed in *Folk-Lore*, March, 1911), acting on behalf of the "Kommission für die Sammlung der deutschschweizerischen Volkslieder" under the *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, has continued his work of collecting the popular songs of his country. The result is a volume of two hundred and seventy-two "folk-songs" from Canton Aargau. In this the system referred to in our previous review has been adhered to by Herr Grolimund, who in his preface explains that he has included "composed" and "borrowed" songs where these have become "folk-songs" for the people. His method would seem to lead to confusion so far as the study of folk-music and poetry goes, although of possible value to folklore generally, in showing the trend of popular taste and the powers of popular memory.

Herr Grolimund has noted his songs chiefly from the singing of old or elderly persons, who have in many cases lent him manuscript books of words compiled by themselves. The language of the texts is a mixture of good German (*Schriftdeutsch*) and dialect, the German,—as might be supposed in Canton Aargau,—predominating greatly. As the collector points out, there are amongst them no songs in any pure local "Mundart," even the most "dialectal" presenting a mixture of many dialects interwoven with ordinary German.

Amongst the texts are a number of narrative ballads, the subject and phraseology of which in many cases point to antiquity. One of these tells of the youngest daughter of a Pfalzgraf on the

Rhine, who goes to her married elder sister as a servant, lives unrecognised and neglected in her house for half a year, and when dying reveals who she is, to the great remorse of the elder woman, who offers milk and wine,—but too late to save her. In another we recognise a Danish and German ballad-subject,—the drowning of two kings' children. Yet another relates the fate of a false sweet-heart, who, having sworn to one lover that the devil may take her if she has deceived him, is danced with by the devil at her wedding, the evil one whirling her away over stock and stone until he finally breaks her neck and legs.

Amongst the subjects of the songs we find a good many similar to those common in British folk-song. A *naïve* carol on the death of Jesus, three moralising songs on Death and Judgment, and four on the Ages of Man might well pass as old English if translated. Accumulative and counting-songs are represented, and several of the narrative texts recall familiar ballads of our country. Thus we find Swiss versions of the crafty beggar-man and the noble lady; of the "Lord Lovel" type of ballad, in which the absent lover is hastily summoned but returns only to kiss the clay-cold lips of his dead love; of the girl who springs upon the horse of an insolent suitor when he is not looking, and so escapes; of the cruel child-murderess; and of the huntsman who shoots his love instead of a young deer, is put into a cell, and is condemned to die. The latter recalls a Somerset song and a Gaelic ballad, in both of which the animal is, however, not a deer but a swan or duck.

Some songs,—amongst them several about murders and other crimes,—combine old ballad-commonplaces of phraseology with modern events, and resemble our later broadsides in structure. Concerning the ballad-sheet literature, old or new, of his own country Herr Grolimund is unfortunately silent. Our British ballad-commonplace of instructions given by a dying person about a "marble-stone" and the inscription thereon, etc., is found often in these Swiss songs, the phraseology being in some cases strikingly similar to ours. We find also a Swiss version of the "Enoch Arden" type of ballad,—a favourite one in French folk-song,—in which the husband after long absence returns to find his wife established with another. Satirical songs are plentiful; some

on disagreeable wives and husbands; some on trades and professions, in which all who follow them are fools or knaves; and others on the inhabitants of various towns and villages. As in all Swiss song-collections, there are numerous courting-songs, called *Kilt* (or *Chilt*) *Lieder*. These take the form of a dialogue between a lover and a girl to whose window he comes at night. He begs to be let into the house, and most usually she refuses, warning him that her father and her mother are sleeping in the next room. We find precisely similar dialogues in the folk-songs of many other nations, and numerous British and German examples will at once come to our minds. The phraseology of all these songs follows certain conventional lines which point to some real connection between them in the past, and not merely to chance resemblance. Is it too much to hazard that in every land this class of song was originally intended to be used, as it is still used in Switzerland, during the *Kiltgang*? According to this ancient Germanic custom, which is still commonly practised in many parts of Europe,<sup>1</sup> a suitor is authorised to court his sweetheart at her window after dark, often being finally admitted. In Switzerland the man and the girl sing the *Kiltlied* in dialogue, he standing below her window and she replying from within. There are also in Herr Grolimund's volume, as in other Swiss collections, specimens of the familiar dialogue between suitor and maiden, in which the one sets the other impossible tasks to perform, or riddles to solve, as a condition of marriage. Such dialogues, again, are found in the folk-song of almost every nation, and it is not wholly improbable that they may have originally formed part of an ancient marriage ceremony such as is still observed in Germanic countries, notably in the Salzburg district of Austria. There, the custom is that the bridegroom's emissary or *Brautführer* rides forth with a company of armed comrades to conduct the bride to her new home, but must answer a long string of hard questions and riddles, put to him by the bride's father or his representative, before the bride is yielded up. The repeated reference in dialogue-songs of the kind

<sup>1</sup> For references to the custom of the "Kiltgang" as practised in Scotland, Wales, Germany, the Dutch islands, etc., etc., see *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten etc. etc.* by Leopold von Schroeder, Berlin, 1888, p. 265.

to the making of a shirt as a sign that "you shall be a true-lover of mine" certainly is connected with the widely-spread custom of the bride or betrothed girl presenting a shirt of her own making to the man of her choice.

We meet also with an Aargau version of the action-song known to English children as "Would you know how doth the peasant?" This, together with its familiar tune, has always been recognised as an importation from the Continent. In Bern "*Wollt ihr wissen, wie der Bauer?*" is sung to the same air as in our country; the Aargau tune is different, and it is divided into solo and chorus after the manner of an old song of occupation, which no doubt it once was. The text shows signs of being used by grown-up folk, and ends with cynical allusions to the peasant and his wife.

The music of these songs presents precisely the same characteristics as that of Herr Grolimund's collection made in Canton Soleure. Amongst 272 melodies (*plus* variants,) which compose the Aargau collection there is not one tune in the minor or showing modal traces. The airs are built on the chords of tonic, dominant and subdominant; beauty of curve is strangely absent from them, and the cadences are frankly commonplace. Here, as in other Swiss collections, there is plain evidence that fine melody has been killed by the habit of facile "part-singing" in schools and *Sänger-Vereine*. Throughout German Switzerland any group of persons will at any moment burst forth into music on these conventional and undistinguished lines; the plan for making the melody and harmony being so simple that endless permutations may be indulged in, as in the "chop-stick waltzes" (which hail from Germany), without upsetting the general effect. Herr Gassmann, in his collection of folk-songs of the *Luzerner Wiggertal und Hinterland* (1906), devotes two pages to describing this Swiss method of singing. The soloist or *Vorträger* is supported by the next best singer, who is called the *Sekundant* and improvises a harmony much as do people fond of "singing a second." Other singers put in the harmonies that seem appropriate. Obviously, this habit of improvising "parts" has cramped Swiss folk-music and is responsible for its monotony. Probably in no collections of folk-song of any other country would it be possible to search through hundreds of tunes without finding one in



the minor scale. Herr Grolimund's songs from Solothurn, 119 in number; Herr Tobler's songs from Appenzell, 134 in all; 72 Bern songs noted by M. Marriage and J. Meier, and 280 noted by Herr Gassmann (*see above*), are every one of them in the major, presenting with those from Canton Aargau a total of 877 in this key.<sup>2</sup>

The lack of distinction in Swiss folk-music is the more to be wondered at, since magnificent old *chorales* are habitually sung in school and church. But the popular music of the German Swiss shows no sign of being influenced by the music of their Church, either Roman Catholic or Reformed. This merely confirms the opinion of most serious students of folk-song, who maintain that the music of the people "gangs its ain gait," and is not a distorted reminiscence of something ecclesiastical.

LUCY E. BROADWOOD.

THE BAGANDA. An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs.

By the Rev. JOHN ROSCOE. Macmillan & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. xix + 547. Ill.

THE author of this book had taught us to expect much when he came to render a connected account of the people among whom he had been labouring for so many years; and the expectations have been abundantly fulfilled. Hitherto, of all the many books written about Uganda Sir Harry Johnston's has been the most comprehensive and on the whole the most authoritative. Nor is it likely to be speedily superseded. But it comprised an account of the entire Protectorate, and not more than a tenth of it was occupied with the special subject of the work now before us. Hence there was room for a book dealing in detail with the customs and beliefs of the Baganda by one having a close and intimate knowledge and long experience of that remarkable people. Mr. Roscoe has been able to amplify his distinguished predecessor's account, and even to correct it in particulars in which further enquiry showed that correction was needed. On

<sup>2</sup>In addition, Herr Tobler quotes one song from Eibel's *Schilderung der Gebirgsvölker der Schweiz*, Leipzig, 1798. This, a cattle-call, is in the minor.

the other hand, there are certain matters on which the information he gives, full as it is, requires to be supplemented by Sir Harry Johnston's statements.

The present volume is compiled, as the author tells us, at first hand from the lips of the natives themselves, and without reference to any other book. This gives it its value, at the same time that it provides its limitations. It must not be assumed to be exhaustive. Indeed, we are expressly warned in the chapter on Religion that details are given only of the principal objects in the various classes,—gods, ghosts, fetishes, and so forth,—venerated. We need not, therefore, be surprised if we find others mentioned by Sir Harry Johnston or by Mr. Cunningham in his valuable book on *Uganda and its Peoples*.

At any rate, Mr. Roscoe has laid before the reader a wealth of information on "the social and religious life of the Baganda in the old days,"—that is to say, prior to European influence,—not surpassed by any similar monograph on any people. It is impossible here to do more than refer to one or two subjects in a book every part of which demands careful study by those who are interested in the evolution of civilization.

The Baganda attained the highest degree of native Bantu culture. Except in the description by the early Portuguese adventurers and missionaries of the realm of Monomotapa, and in the still enigmatical remains of Rhodesia, nothing has been found in the vast territories occupied by Bantu peoples at all rivalling the civilization of Uganda. In both cases probably influences of the same kind were at work. At a period estimated by the author as about a thousand years ago, the original inhabitants of Uganda had been overcome by a tribe from the north-east of Hamitic origin. Having conquered the country, the invaders settled down as the dominant race and intermarried with their subjects, until in course of time they became fused into one tolerably homogeneous community. The country is of exceptional fertility. Although situated right under the equator, its elevation above the sea (about 4000 feet), an undulating hilly plain with belts of forest, and the proximity of the great lake of Victoria Nyanza, secure to it a temperate climate and an ample rainfall. To these advantages, to the strong government of

conquerors who were not mere bloodthirsty raiders but endowed with remarkable political capacity, and to the higher ideas, institutions, and arts of life they brought with them and spread throughout the area under their control, the cultural position of the Baganda nation must be attributed.

History properly so called they had none, for they were ignorant of the art of writing: even tally-sticks for messengers and tax-gatherers were unknown. Tradition therefore was the sole medium for preserving a knowledge of the past. The king's pedigree was traced in detail from Kintu, who is represented as the first king. But he is also regarded as the first man. He came into the country (or upon the earth) with only a single cow; and, as there was nothing there before, he lived on this cow's milk. He married Nambi, a daughter of Heaven. According to the legend Nambi, by disobedience to her father's command, was the cause of the entrance of her brother Death into the world. It is obvious that this is a tradition of the beginning of things; and though the Baganda may have themselves identified Kintu as their earliest king and assigned his wife to the Colobus Monkey clan, to accept such a rationalization of the story is hardly in the spirit of modern science. The fact is that we know nothing of the history of Uganda prior to its discovery early in the second half of the last century. That at some unknown distance of time the country was inhabited by a Bantu people who were conquered by a band of warriors, probably few in number and belonging to a different race of somewhat more advanced culture, who settled there as already mentioned, is an inference from the physical appearance of the royal family and from the national religion, arts, and institutions, for which it would be difficult to account except by such an hypothesis. Genealogies are sometimes preserved with comparative accuracy where other facts are forgotten or distorted by tradition. The royal pedigree, if Kintu were accepted as the first king, would assign the invasion to a period about twenty-four generations back. Sir Harry Johnston's calculation (reckoning not from Kintu but from his great-grandson, Kimera) would place it about five hundred years ago, or two-thirds only of twenty-four generations. It is clear that Kintu is a purely mythical figure. He appears, as we learn from Sir Harry Johnston, also in the

traditions of the neighbouring and kindred Banyoro. Before we can reach sound conclusions on the history of the one people, that of the other must also be closely studied. Meanwhile it may be said that of none of the details of the pedigree, as set forth on pp. 175-180 and 231, further back than the lifetime of Mr. Roscoe's authorities or perhaps a generation earlier, can we be reasonably sure. It would be very desirable to know how the pedigree itself was obtained, whether from one witness or piecemeal from several, whether they were confronted together, how far they agreed, to what clans they belonged, and so forth. Mr. Roscoe has merely given us the net results of his enquiries, (which differ in many points from those of other writers), in the form he has judged most authentic. But upon the face of it there is reason for suspicion of the really historical character of the genealogy. The present method of naming a child is for the grandmother to recite the names of her son's deceased ancestors over it until it laughs. The name at which it laughs is that of the ghost who will be its guardian, and that name is adopted (p. 64). But beginning from Magembe, the fourth in descent from Kintu, in the genealogy the name of the child (if a boy) is as a rule his mother's name deprived of the feminine prefix, or rather the mother's name is that of the child with a feminine prefix. This rule obtains (though not without some exceptions) down to Kekulwe, who is said to have been the twenty-first king and to have lived eight generations before the reigning monarch. There is no mention of teknonymy; and even in teknonymy the mother's name would not be compounded of the son's name with a merely feminine prefix.

The Baganda worshipped a number of gods, as well as the ghosts of departed relatives, to say nothing of their veneration of fetishes. These are to be distinguished from amulets. Like the latter the fetishes were innumerable, but they seem to have been regarded as more powerful. They were made only by the most skilled medicine-men. Many, if not all of them, bore names; and by means of a special ceremony they became possessed by various gods, though they do not seem to have been themselves regarded as personal beings. This quasi-personal character of fetishes has been analysed with much acumen as it is found among the peoples

of Loango by Dr. Pechuël-Loesche. There, however, gods in the true sense of the terms do not exist. Among the Baganda the ghosts of the dead were universally feared. So great was the terror they inspired that even the king would not venture to put a man to death for a crime without compelling him first to take a magical drink, or to undergo some other ceremony, that put his ghost within the king's control and prevented its haunting him. Baganda monarchy was, in fact, a despotism, as bloody as that of Dahomey or Russia, tempered by the fear of the posthumous activities of its victims. Every family naturally had its dead, who, as long as they were remembered, were the object of worship, those who were most recently dead, and therefore the most vividly remembered, being as a rule the most honoured.

The most exalted order of supernatural beings was constituted by the gods. Mr. Cunningham reckons up "thirty-five distinct and different devils," by which he means what Mr. Roscoe calls *gods*. The native word used (*Balubare*) is the same. Mr. Cunningham states that it "essentially implies evil," an expression we must probably interpret as meaning not so much moral evil as physical evil, irritability, and ferocity. Their worship was, like that of the dead, founded on fear. Their number, however, must have greatly exceeded thirty-five. Mr. Roscoe wisely does not attempt enumeration: he only discusses the chief gods, those regarded as national deities. But besides them there were hosts of others. Every river had its particular divinity. The hills, the forests,—nay, every tree,—had their spirits, and these local spirits were doubtless gods in germ. At the head of the Pantheon stood the god Mukasa, whom Mr. Cunningham with some hesitation considers a goddess. He had his temple on the island Bubembe in the Victoria Nyanza. There he gave oracles by means of a female medium, and received sacrifices and gifts. Mr. Roscoe regards him as a deified man, an opinion shared by Sir Harry Johnston. Considerable weight must be attached to this judgment. It seems to be founded on the legends of his life and death or disappearance. He was the son of Wanema, also a god. His mother's name was Nambubi. She belonged to the Lung-fish clan. His brother Kibuka was the war-god. What sacred relics were enshrined in his temple seems a matter of some doubt;

about those of Kibuka there is none. They consisted of certain bundles now in the Museum at Cambridge, probably procured for it by Mr. Roscoe, though he is too modest to say so. These bundles on examination proved to contain portions of a human being, one being a jawbone. Now, it is customary to detach the jawbone from the corpse of a king or chief and to preserve it separately, much as this has been preserved, because the special portion of the body to which the ghost clings is precisely the jawbone. Moreover, while some natives say that Mukasa died and was buried on Bubembe, others declare that he simply disappeared; and disappearance is one mode in which a king's death is announced, for it is not permissible to say that he is dead. Yet all these form together but a slender ground for the opinion that Mukasa and Kibuka were deified men. Equivalent stories of the birth, life, and death of gods were told in Greece. The birthplace and the grave of Zeus, for example, were well known. Nor can any dependence be placed upon the preservation of personal remains: we need only refer to the universal relic-mongering of the Middle Ages in proof of this. Mukasa's wife, too, was the sister of the python Selwanga worshipped at the mouth of the river Mujuzi in Budu, the southern province of Uganda. When we add to these considerations the fact that the cult of Mukasa is known not only to the Baganda, but also to the Warundi, the Waziba, and the Wanyamwezi, two or three hundred miles away beyond the southern end of the great lake, our doubts will be more than confirmed.

The Baganda never formed their gods into a system or society like the Greek Olympus or the Norse Asgard. Some of them, like those mentioned above, constituted a family, but the rest were detached and independent, so far at least as our information goes. Wanga was believed to be one of the oldest of the gods. Tradition made him the father of the Earthquake god Musisi, who is reported to have been the father of Mukasa. According to the tradition accepted elsewhere by Mr. Roscoe, Mukasa's father, as we have seen, was Wanema, though Mr. Cunningham makes the latter "a great goddess with general functions." Besides Mukasa, Musisi, in Mr. Roscoe's tradition, is said to have had two sons, Wamala and Wanema. Wamala is noticed by Mr. Cunningham

outside his general list of "devils" as the "last and least" of those beings. Mr. Roscoe, on the other hand, dignifies him as "one of the principal gods of the country," who formed a river and lake, the latter of which bears his name. I mention all these contradictions not in the least to reflect upon either of the distinguished authorities to whom we owe our information, but to exemplify the variations of tradition. It is only what we expect, only what we are familiar with in classical mythology. But, if tradition be untrustworthy in these matters, has it any greater claim on our belief when it deals with the events not merely of a far past, but of lives of men who have long ago, unlike these gods, ceased to have any influence on the present? Can we place any faith in the pedigree and legends of the royal family?

Wanga may have been one of the oldest of the gods: he was not the "Creator." That honour was given to Katonda. How he managed to "create" we do not know, nor whether there is a Creation legend. Consequently we are ignorant what the Baganda idea of creation is. Anyhow Katonda had only a small temple, and he received little attention. It is obvious that he was of very small account. The tale called *The Creation* in Sir Harry Johnston's book is simply a version of the legend of Kintu. There not Katonda but Mugulu (Heaven or The Above) is the parent of Nambi, who becomes Kintu's wife. He seems to be regarded as a magician-king, of enormous power and wealth but limited knowledge, and that obtained in purely human fashion; and he was aghast at Kintu's cleverness. He supplied from his stores certain articles of food by way of gift to Nambi when he parted with her to Kintu; and from these the bananas, Indian corn, beans, and ground nuts that grow so well in Uganda are derived. How the rest of the things on earth came is another question, and a question for which we find no answer.

The Baganda were divided into clans, formerly thirty-six in number, each having its totem, and most of them having also a secondary totem. These clans were exogamous and descendible in the male line. The royal clan is that of the Leopard. The king had an extensive assortment of wives, but such of them as belonged to certain clans were never allowed to rear a son who might be a candidate for the throne. The reasons for the prohibi-

tion do not appear. That the clans were originally descendible in the female line there is some reason for thinking. All the mother's clan were prohibited from marriage with her children. The maternal uncle had as usual special duties. Every child borne by the king's wives belonged to the clan of his mother. Yet the Leopard clan and the Lion clan both claimed to include all princes among their members. Hence every prince and every king bore the totems of the Leopard and Lion clans, and also the Eagle though there was no Eagle clan, as well as the totem of his mother's clan. As authority for this the Lion clan tell a story with which we need not concern ourselves. Their claim is anomalous; and notwithstanding it the Lion clan was among those whose women might not rear a son of the king. The traditions of the various clans and their special practices are well worth studying. A word of praise must be given to the more than usually full list of the terms of relationship, which are not without their bearing on the question of the priority in time of female kinship.

With the foregoing samples of the abounding interest to be found on every page of Mr. Roscoe's volume I must content myself with commending it to all members of the Folk-Lore Society. It touches and illustrates our subject at all points. It is a clear and well-arranged repository of information, the fruit of enquiries, extending over many years, for which the author possessed unrivalled opportunities. It is a pity the many photographs could not have been reproduced on a somewhat larger scale. A map of the country would have assisted reference to the numerous localities mentioned; and a key to the pronunciation of native words would have been of advantage. But we may well be grateful to the author, and to Professor Frazer and other anthropologists and friends to whom he acknowledges indebtedness for advice and assistance of various kinds, for the material additions to our knowledge which it contains.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA. By E. THURSTON, assisted by K. Rangachari. 7 vols. Madras: Government Press, 1909. 8vo. Ill.

THE Madras Government, in issuing these important volumes under Mr. Thurston's editorship, has taken its place among the progressive administrations which have realised their responsibilities as custodians and guardians of primitive races, and has enabled his work to take its place beside those of Ibbetson, Risley, and Cooke as a comprehensive record of the organization and customs of the castes and tribes of a wide region, many of them among the least developed in India, and all worthy of study.

It is impossible to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation between that part of the work which is of purely anthropological interest and that which more properly comes under the designation of folklore, but for students of early beliefs, under whatever designation they may class themselves, a great mass of material is here provided. Under the Badagas, for instance, will be found a full description of the seed-sowing ceremonies in March and of the Devvé harvest festival in June-July, and also of the extremely interesting confession of a dead man's sins (vol. i, p. 115) and of the release of a 'scapegoat' calf first seen by Gover forty years ago and now again witnessed by Mr. Clayton. In the account of the Savaras, a hill tribe of Ganjam with Mongolian features (identified with the Sabarai of Ptolemy), will be found an account of the practice of fetish worship, empty earthen pots being the venerated objects, (vol. vi, p. 334). The present state of polyandry among the Nāyars (vol. v, p. 312), the virtues of Rudraksha beads, and the wearing of a coat of them by a Brahman (illustrated), (vol. i, p. 321), the intermarriages between heathen and Christian Paraiyans (Pariahs) (vol. vi, p. 94), tattooing among the same people (vol. vi, p. 113), the legend of the origin of the Malayāli and their emigration from the plains to the Shevaroy hills (vol. iv, p. 406), the burlesque funeral games of Toda children (vol. vii, pp. 199 *et seq.*), and the dolmen-like graves of the Kurubbas (vol. iv, p. 155), are a few of the numerous topics discussed, and their mere enumeration will suffice to give some idea of the extraordinary scope and variety of Mr. Thurston's work.

The curious account of Sālagrāms and the derivation of the name quoted by Mr. Thurston from the *Madras Mail* (vol. i, p. 321) is worthy of mention as a specimen of erroneous modern explanation. Mr. Thurston might have warned his reader against accepting the derivation there assigned from *sarachakra* (a discus) and *grava* (a stone) as a possible explanation of the word *Sālagrāma*. It is impossible to do more than indicate slightly the nature of this valuable compendium of facts, which will be indispensable to all students of early custom. The work has been well printed at Madras, and is illustrated by a number of photographs, many of which are excellent.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

GRUNDLINIEN EINER VERGLEICHUNG DER RELIGIONEN UND MYTHOLOGIEN DER AUSTRONESISCHEN VÖLKER. Von P. W. SCHMIDT. In *Denkschriften d. K. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1910. 4to, pp. viii + 142.

DIE MYTHOLOGIE DER AUSTRONESISCHEN VÖLKER. Von P. W. SCHMIDT. (Reprint from *Mitteil. d. Anthropol. Ges. in Wien*, vol. xxxix.)

FATHER SCHMIDT employs the term Austronesia to denote the islands of Indonesia (including Formosa and Madagascar), Melanesia, and Polynesia, and regards the racial unity of their inhabitants as established by a study of their languages.<sup>1</sup> In the present works,—of which the second is an abridgment of the first, read before the Anthropological Society of Vienna,—he offers a comparative analysis of their mythologies. In the survey filling the first eight chapters he distinguishes two main types of myth,—the lunar, which prevails over Nias and among the Bataks, Dyaks, and Melanesians,—and the solar, which is found in the south-eastern and south-western islands of the Sunda archipelago, and the southern Moluccas, and among all Polynesians. In Celebes, and to a certain degree in Polynesia, these two types are blended. Father Schmidt regards the lunar as

<sup>1</sup> *Mitteil. d. Anthropol. Ges. in Wien*, vol. xxix.

the more primitive of the two. It is asexual, *i.e.* there is no reference to any marriage or sexual acts of its leading personages,—at least not in its original form,—and it is associated with a belief in a Supreme Being, which, however, is not blended with the lunar myths where purest (Nias, Bataks). The creation of man and of the world are also both explained. Amongst the Dyaks and in Melanesia, where the solar type is encroaching upon the lunar, the Supreme Being is partly identified with the Increasing Moon. In the solar myths, which were originally alien to the Austronesian peoples, there is always a sex motive, and phallic rites are found in some cases.

Here, as in his other works, Father Schmidt displays much learning and the most painstaking industry. A large amount of material is brought together and analysed, the data being carefully classified and localised. The author is specially qualified by his linguistic knowledge to deal with the native tales, and his work must be of great help in subsequent research. It is worth emphasising that the results of this pioneer study and extensive comparison are only loosely linked with the theoretical views of the author, which are often open to dispute. For example, the opinion that in some of the myths man primitively represented his fate in a lunar cycle by a “purely artistic, theoretically speculative symbolism” may for many reasons be doubted. The terminology of *Naturmythus* used in the summary invites criticism, but it should be observed that the tales are usually reproduced in their original form and the *naturmythologische Deutung* given separately.

Father Schmidt has devoted an exhaustive treatise to the controversy concerning the origin of the idea of God,<sup>2</sup> in which he discusses the subject chiefly from the Australian material. In the present work he contends that the idea of a Supreme Being was the most primitive religious conception of the Austronesians, anterior to all forms of animistic belief as well as to the solar and lunar myths; the chief characteristic of this Being is an imposing loftiness, nearly omnipotence; he is ‘Unus et Supremus.’ This position is derived partly from his almighty creative power and partly from other high qualities, such as

<sup>2</sup> *Anthropos*, vols. iii.-v.; cf. also *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., pp. 516-23.

eternal existence, omniscience, ubiquity, and goodness, his "morally pure and high character" being specially insisted upon. But the way in which the author seeks to establish these attributes is often not conclusive. To prove morality, seven cases are adduced; in two of them the Supreme Being commits incest and steals females, but the author regards these incidents as later additions; in two other cases the Supreme Being is simply not able to do anything bad, without being positively good,—he "cannot be unjust, and cannot be impure," but he does not promote morality; the Tamei Zingei of Central Borneo and the Lowalangi of Nias seem to be actually judges of good and evil; the Supreme Being of the Batak performs only an insignificant moral function, as guardian of oaths. The part played by the Supreme Being in the cult and in control of morality does not seem sufficiently set out, but it must be borne in mind that the author is reconstructing from what he regards as "fragments of this ancient religion." It is difficult to agree with his conclusion that the primitive Austronesians had a "high and dignified" religion, from which their present belief is a degeneration, but he contributes greatly to our store of knowledge, and dissent from his views does not impair respect for his scholarship and untiring collection of facts.

B. MALINOWSKI.

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#### SHORT NOTICES.

*The Idea of God in Early Religions.* By F. B. JEVONS. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1910. Sm. 8vo, pp. x + 170.

THIS panorama of the evolution of the idea of God ought to draw multitudes of fresh eyes towards folklore. It will also be found enthralling by the expert, even should he object to some of the colours and a few outlines. It would hardly be fair to Dr. Jevons to criticise elaborately such condensed summaries of his views, and it would be superfluous to praise his well-known lucid and persuasive style. This is emphatically a book to buy.

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*Notes on West African Categories.* By R. E. DENNETT. Macmillan & Co., 1911. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix + 68.

MR. DENNETT'S views on Bantu categories, or classes into which all facts of the visible world are arranged, should be already well known to folklorists. In this shilling pamphlet he extends his investigation to the classes into which Bavili and Bakongo words are divided by certain prefixes which, (like the affixes -ness, -dom, -tion, etc. in English), are attached to large numbers of the nouns. He suggests that the notions of the order of the seasons etc. set out in his *Nigerian Studies* have also subconsciously affected the noun classes. (Nzambi, by the way, is explained (p. 15), not as one of the many forms Onyame, Nyambe, Nyambi, etc. of an All Father name over a great area from Ashanti to the east and south, but as the "personal essence of the fours" so common in Bavili philosophy.) The subject is a very puzzling one, and the reader, with Bentley's *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language* before him, must judge how far Mr. Dennett's collection of words is representative and how far it supports his theory.

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*The Enchanted Parrot.* By B. HAILE WORTHAM. Luzac & Co., 1911. Sm. 8vo, pp. 127.

THIS fresh translation from the Sanscrit of fifty-six of the "Suka Saptati" or Seventy Tales of a Parrot is spirited and flowing. It will probably interest many in these characteristic Eastern tales who would be wearied by a more literal and complete translation, and, while we think a few explanatory notes would have increased its usefulness, we welcome it as an aid in the popularisation of the materials of our study.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
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 57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20th, 1912.

MR. A. R. WRIGHT (EDITOR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the January Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss G. M. Ireland Blackburne and Mr. M. Letts as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the College Hall Library, Byng Place, as a subscriber, were announced.

The deaths of Mr. H. E. Gregory and Mr. F. Seebohm, and the resignations of Mr. F. H. Parrot and of the Sigma Fraternity were also announced.

The Chairman apologized for the absence of the President in consequence of the disorganization of the traffic on the Great Western Railway by the coal strike; and also of Capt. Whiffen, who had been advertised to read a paper on "The Folklore of the Middle Issa-Japura Watersheds," but who had been called away from London on duty connected with the strike.

Miss C. S. Burne read a paper on "Guy Fawkes," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Miss Freire-Marreco, Miss Hull, and Mr. Kirby took part.

Dr. W. L. Hildburgh exhibited and explained an

extensive collection of Bavarian and Tyrolese amulets for protection against the plague, witches, the evil eye, convulsions, poison, cramp, rheumatism, bad weather, etc., and for curative use.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Burne for her paper and to Dr. Hildburgh for his exhibition.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17th, 1912.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignation of the American Geographical Society was announced.

Miss D. H. Moutray Read, on behalf of Miss Haverfield, exhibited a collection of playing cards from Rajputana.

Miss E. Canziani exhibited and presented to the Society a clasp such as is sewn to the cinctures of the women of St. Colomban de Villards and St. Albin de Villards in Savoy.

Miss B. Freire-Marreco read a paper entitled "The 'Dreamers' of the Mohave-Apache Tribe" (pp. 172-4), and in the discussion which followed Miss C. S. Burne, Sir Everard im Thurn, Mr. A. R. Wright, Mrs. Esdaile, and Prof. J. L. Myres took part.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Moutray Read and to Miss Canziani for their exhibition, and to Miss Freire-Marreco for her paper:

The following books, which had been presented to the Society and added to its Library, were laid on the table:

*Chinese Fables and Folk Stories*, by M. H. Davis and

Chow Leung; *As Old as the Moon: Cuban Legends and Folklore of the Antilles*, by F. J. Stoddard; *Wynad: its Peoples and Traditions*, by C. Gopalan Nair; *Folk-Lore of West and Mid-Wales*, by J. Ceredig Davies; and *South Pembrokeshire*, by M. B. Mirehouse; all presented by the reviewers.

*The Original Garden of Eden discovered*, by J. M. Woolsey; presented by the author.

*Shinto (The Way of the Gods)*, by W. G. Aston; and *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, by Capt. W. F. O'Connor; presented by Mr. A. R. Wright; and

*Some Zulu Customs and Folk-Lore*, by L. H. Samuelson; presented by Miss C. S. Burne.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 15th, 1912.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Dr. Macdonald and Capt. G. P. Porter as members of the Society, and the withdrawal of the subscription of the General Theological Seminary of New York, were announced.

Miss J. B. Partridge read a paper entitled "Some Cotswold Folklore," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Miss Burne, Miss Moutray Read, Mr. S. Casson, and Miss Canziani took part.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited and explained lantern slides descriptive of Japanese Shinto Mythology.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Partridge for her paper, and to Mr. Wright for his exhibition.



## THE SEVERAL ORIGINS OF THE IDEAS OF UNSEEN, PERSONAL BEINGS.

BY PROF. J. H. LEUBA, BRYN MAWR, U.S.A.

AN inquiry into the origin of the belief in unseen, personal powers is primarily concerned with the individual geniuses of the social groups considered. From time to time new ideas come to birth in the minds of specially gifted individuals, and through them become the possession of the community. This fact should be kept in mind throughout the following paper. But the statement that the conceptions out of which the gods arise are of individual origin is not inconsistent with the fact that the individual and religion are, in a very real sense, the products of the social group.

It is, I suppose, the passion for simplicity and unity that has led anthropologists and historians stubbornly to seek the origin of superhuman, personal powers in some one class of phenomena. According to Tylor, the idea of gods had its starting point in such things as dreams, visions, swoons, trances. Spencer is even more emphatic in deriving gods and worship from one original source,—the worship of the dead. Max Müller also ascribes to the gods one origin; he holds that the god-ideas proceed from the personification of natural objects. This unfortunate assumption of the unitary origin of the ideas of gods is, I believe, one of the chief causes of the unsatisfactory condition of our knowledge regarding the origin and the development of religion. In this paper I shall advance brief arguments, both psychological and historical, in support of the four following propositions:—

1. Gods grew out of several different ideas of superhuman beings.
2. These beings had independent origins.
3. The attributes of the gods differ according to their origin.
4. The historical gods are usually mongrel gods, the outcome of the combination of characteristics belonging to superhuman beings of different origins.

The need of accounting for observed phenomena gives rise to one class of sources of the belief in unseen, superhuman beings; the affective and moral needs give rise to another class.

CLASS I. This class contains several independent groups of external and internal phenomena. They are by far the most prolific sources of ideas of superhuman beings.

(a) Apparitions of animals and persons yet living, seen in sleep and in the hallucinations of fever or insanity, lead to the belief in "doubles" and "ghosts." When these apparitions come after the death of the person they represent, they produce the belief in "souls" or "spirits."

(b) States of seeming death followed by apparent return to life,—sleep, trances, and other states of temporary loss of consciousness,—suggest a belief similar to the preceding.

(c) The spontaneous though fleeting personification of striking natural phenomena such as thunder, lightning, fire, flood, and tempest, or the sudden appearance of animal or vegetable life, may well lead to the belief in personal agents behind visible nature.

(d) The problem of creation no doubt forces upon the primitive mind very early the necessity of a Maker. It may be that a crude conception of a Creator is attained even earlier than that of a soul or double.

(e) The facts of conscience: the feeling of duty, the categorical imperative; transformations of personality, conversion, etc.

(f) Various experiences included under the terms clairvoyance, divination, monition, etc.

(g) Striking motor and sensory abnormalities, such as are met with in hysteria.

The desire to explain the phenomena of the last three groups implies a considerable degree of mental development; therefore, before these causes could become operative, man must have been already in possession of a variety of ideas of superhuman beings and of gods. But, if these phenomena could hardly have become sources of original god-ideas, they have undoubtedly led to important modifications of them by the ascription to the gods of the moral qualities and of the powers implied in these experiences. With the appearance of the moral conscience, for instance, gods became promoters of morality.

It is to be noted that the metaphysical arguments for the existence of God,—for instance, the cosmological and the ontological proofs and the argument from design,—stand in a different relation from the facts here classified to the belief in superhuman beings. The metaphysical proofs are primarily arguments by which man sought to establish the objective validity of god-ideas *already in existence*. These proofs have also served to give greater precision to the god-ideas, and, above all, to modify their content. How radically the metaphysical and the naive empirical methods differ becomes evident in a comparison of the cosmological argument with the manner in which non-civilized man comes to believe in a Maker.

CLASS II. The affective and the moral needs. These needs become potent relatively late in human history; so that, when they appear as factors in the making of gods, beliefs in superhuman beings have already come into existence through the agency of phenomena of the first class. The experiences of this second class result, therefore, in a transformation of existing superhuman beings by the ascription to them of affective and moral qualities.

In an essay on a group of Christian mystics,<sup>1</sup> I have indicated four kinds of affective needs, only two of which need be mentioned here:—

(a) *The needs of the heart.* Affection and love seek perfect objects that they may be perfectly gratified. Under stress of this need a Nature-god or the impassable Absolute may be transformed into the Great Friendly Presence, the benevolent Father, even the Passionate Lover.

(b) *The needs of conscience*, (not, as in Class I., the *interpretation* of the facts of conscience). We crave strength in order to fulfil its imperative commands. These cravings are father to the belief in a Being who is able and willing to assist in the conflicts of the "spiritual" against the "natural" man. Here might be placed also the conviction that justice must be fulfilled, either in this life or in another. This conviction is usually connected with the belief in a Dispenser of punishment and reward, a Fulfiller of the law of justice.

The modern belief in the existence of God rests nearly entirely upon the experiences of this second class. Dreams, hallucinations, trances, personification of striking phenomena, the idea of a Maker,—these empirical data, together with the metaphysical arguments, have lost all or almost all the value they had once as prompters of the belief in God.

*Subclasses Ia and Ib.*—I proceed to a few remarks concerning the first four groups of the first class, and I begin with groups *a* and *b*.

Most anthropologists seem to be of the opinion that the idea of the "double" or "ghost" is the exclusive source of the original belief in souls, in invisible spirits, and consequently in gods. Very recently, however, a distinguished sociologist, E. Durkheim, has vigorously attacked

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Leuba, "Les Tendances Fondamentales des Mystiques Chrétiens" and "Les Tendances Religieuses chez les Mystiques Chrétiens," *Revue Philosophique de la France etc.*, tome liv. (1902), pp. 1-36, 441-487.

this view.<sup>2</sup> He maintains that the conception of soul did not have its origin in dreams, visions, and trances, although the conception may be of service in an attempt to account for some of these phenomena. As the point raised by Durkheim is of considerable importance, I give his chief objections under four heads, and offer answers which seem to me sufficient to refute his arguments.

1. The belief in soul is not the simplest way to account for dreams, visions, etc. Why should not man instead have imagined that he could see at a distance through all kinds of obstacles? This is a simpler idea than that of a double made of a semi-invisible, ethereal substance.

2. Many dreams are refractory to the ghost-interpretation; for instance, dreams of things that we have done in the past. The double might transport himself into the future, but how could he live over again the past existence of the body to which he belongs? How could a man when awake really believe that he has taken part in events which he knows to have taken place long ago? It is much more natural that he should think of memories, since these at least are familiar to him.

3. How could he be so stupid and non-inquisitive as not to be impressed by the fact that the person whose alleged double has conversed with his own double while he slept had also had dreams that same night and was with another person than his own double? There is, thinks Durkheim, some *naïveté* in the blind credulity ascribed to primitive man by this theory.

4. Even though the ghost-explanation should be sufficient to account for all dreams, it would remain unlikely that man ever sought for an explanation of his dreams; they are

<sup>2</sup> E. Durkheim, "Examen Critique des Systèmes Classiques sur la Pensée Religieuse," *Revue Philosophique de la France etc.*, tome lii. (1900), pp. 10-15. What he regards as the origin of the soul I do not know, for at the present writing the book has not appeared of which the article from which I quote is to be a chapter.

too common occurrences. "What is dream in our life? How small a place it holds... and how surprising it is that the unfortunate Australians spend so much energy in evolving a theory of it."

Let it be observed, first, that whatever objection there may be to the ghost-hypothesis as a means of interpreting the phenomena in question, the savage actually does account for them by that notion. This fact, which even Durkheim admits, causes many of his arguments to lose their relevancy. Sir Everard im Thurn relates the following incident in his book, *Among the Indians of Guiana*<sup>3</sup>:—

"One morning when it was important to me to get away from a camp on the Essequibo river, at which I had been detained for some days by the illness of some of my Indian companions, I found that one of the invalids, a young Macusi, though better in health, was so enraged against me that he refused to stir, for he declared that, with great want of consideration for his weak health, I had taken him out during the night and had made him haul the canoe up a series of difficult cataracts. Nothing could persuade him that this was but a dream, and it was some time before he was so far pacified as to throw himself sulkily into the bottom of the canoe. At that time we were all suffering from a great scarcity of food, and, hunger having its usual effect in producing vivid dreams, similar events frequently occurred. More than once, the men declared in the morning that some absent man, whom they named, had come during the night, and had beaten or otherwise maltreated them; and they insisted upon much rubbing of the bruised parts of their bodies."

That man should have originally regarded as memories vivid dreams in which he feels and hears himself walking and talking with another person, whose face he sees and whose voice he hears as clearly as in waking life, seems to me an impossible supposition; and to try to explain the dreadful experience of feeling the hand of one's enemy around one's neck, and choking in his grasp, on the ground

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 344-5.

of remembrance seems mere mockery. I do not know any explanation simpler than the assumption that the person one has felt and seen was actually present. If by chance one knows that person to have been elsewhere, then the immediate inference is that he is double. Certain savages believe that men have four souls. One may, of course, offer objections to this interpretation; but the savage does not realize the difficulties that thrust themselves upon the reflecting mind. Observations of the beliefs of intellectually inferior persons of civilized races show that for most of them there is no contradiction sufficient to make them give up an explanation to which they have become attached. Durkheim alludes to other simpler and more adequate explanations of dreams, but these he does not himself advance.

In the life of young children are found indications of the possibility of the dream-origin of the idea of doubles. Preyer relates of his child, then in his fourth or fifth year, that "he sometimes cried out in the night, and imagined that a pig was going to bite him. He seemed to see the animal as if it were actually there, and he could not be convinced that it was not there even after his bed was brightly lighted up."<sup>4</sup> In the *Diary of a Father*, published as an appendix to Sully's *Studies of Childhood*, we read of C., four years old:—"He evidently takes these dream-pictures for sensible realities, and when relating a dream insists that he has actually seen the circus-horses and fairies which appear to him when asleep."<sup>5</sup> Yet he knows that he has spent the night in a room into which horses could not enter; but it does not seem to be one of the wishes of children to get rid of contradictions otherwise than by dismissing the thought of them. The non-civilized adult behaves similarly, and in this he differs simply in degree from ourselves. It is unnecessary to multiply

<sup>4</sup> W. Preyer (*Trans.* H. W. Brown), *The Mind of the Child*, Part I., 1893, pp. 168-169.

<sup>5</sup> P. 455.

similar instances, yet the following may not be out of place as an illustration of the manner in which a child deals with a situation resembling in one respect that by which primitive man is confronted in the explanation of his dreams and visions. A boy of my acquaintance, nearly four years old, had been deeply impressed by the dragon in a performance of the Play of Saint George. He was told that it was a skin inside which a person roared and gave life-like movements to the skin. He seemed readily to understand and to accept the explanation, yet he still firmly believed the dragon to be alive. In order to complete the explanation, the dragon's skin was brought to the child, and in his presence a man got into it, roared, and moved about. The child, of course, understood, yet the next day he was ready to go hunting for the dragon, and this was not simply in play, if a careful observer can judge at all what is and what is not play in a child's behaviour. What happened in this case is a common experience; emotion made it impossible for him to bring his knowledge and his critical sense to bear upon the problem. An occasional terrifying vision would be sufficient, it seems, to establish and keep up the belief in doubles. Regarding the frequency of hallucinations among savages, Mary Kingsley writes of the West Africans:—"I also know that the African, in spite of all his hard-headed common sense, is endowed with a super-sensitive organisation—he is always a step nearer delirium, in a medical sense, than an Englishman; a disease that will by a rise of bodily temperature merely give an Englishman a headache will give an African delirium and its visions."<sup>6</sup>

The four objections just reviewed are offered by Durkheim as an argument against animism. That theory, taken as an original philosophy of life, I do not defend; nor, indeed, do we need to concern ourselves with it at all.

<sup>6</sup> "The Forms of Apparitions in West Africa," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, vol. xiv. (1898-99), p. 331.



The question in point is simply whether dreams, visions, and the like have been an original source of belief in ghosts or doubles. I see nothing in Durkheim's criticisms to invalidate Marett's assertion that it is "one amongst the few relative certainties which Anthropology can claim to have established in the way of theory."<sup>7</sup>

*Subclass Ic.*—I am ready to grant that the spontaneous personification of striking nature phenomena, such as thunder, fire, floods, cataracts, and heavenly bodies, by bestowing upon them either human or animal attributes, was a factor of less importance than dreams and visions. This mode of origin seems to have played an uncommonly important role among the old Aryans, who worshipped "the heavenly ones," "the shining ones," that is, the powers of the luminous heaven. More frequently, perhaps, the tendency to personify served to confirm beliefs in powerful invisible beings and to give to them new characteristics.

Conclusions as to the probability of this origin may be drawn from the behaviour of the child. Many a child barely able to speak forms the habit of ascribing human or animal nature to what is for the adult simply non-personal. He personifies not only because it is for him a natural form of explanation, but also because he finds an inexhaustible source of delight in the fictitious world he creates. Who can make the division between belief and pretence in this mythopoeic world? It was during his fourth year that C. began "to create fictitious persons and animals, and to surround himself by a world, unseen by others, but terribly real to himself."<sup>8</sup>

In this connection one should keep in mind the fact of great individual differences. Some children live almost entirely in the real world, and many probably never confuse make-believe with reality. But there are also those who hold firmly to the reality of a world of their

<sup>7</sup> R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> J. Sully, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

own creation. It is these believing children who make the traditions and the dogmas of childhood. Is it improbable that savages should, both in earnest and in play, have placed personal and animal beings behind certain striking phenomena? How otherwise could they better gratify at once a demand for explanation and a love of dramatic play?<sup>9</sup>

The personifications of the primitive man, as well as those of the child, often are classed as animal forms. Nothing could be more natural. Is not the animal world more varied and mysterious to the savage than the human? The size, appearance, and behaviour of animals are so exceedingly diverse that one may expect almost anything that shows self-movement to be an animal. Why, for instance, should not the savage believe that the sun is an animal? Is its shape too simple, or its motion too regular? I do not see how uncivilized man could set limits to the shapes of animals. And as to the sun's movements, they are not, after all, so regular as the scientist would make them. The sun rises at different points winter and summer, and traverses the heavens by different paths. It hides away for long periods, and then shows itself constantly for many days. Even its heat is variable.

But, even though the personification of natural phenomena is to be expected of savages, it is perplexing to find people as far advanced as the old Egyptians, for instance, continuing to worship nature-gods. One must in this case reckon with the momentum of psychic life, just as one does with physical inertia. Habits once formed and expressed in venerated institutions cannot easily be cast aside. But something else contributes also to the production of this paradox: the literal assumes a poetic or a moral sense, and the change remains long unrecognized or unacknowledged.

<sup>9</sup> I have given some details concerning an unusual instance of fondness for personifying in "The Personifying Passion in Youth, with remarks upon the Sex and Gender Problem," *The Monist*, vol. x. (1900), pp. 536-548.

The ease with which most men pass, without knowing it, from a genuine belief in God to one which is merely conventional or is maintained for æsthetic or moral reasons is a fact as amazing as it is pregnant with sociological consequences. One may observe among us at present the passage from a vital belief in the traditional personal God to a survival-belief of the kind just mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

*Subclass Id.*—The idea of creation, it seems, should lead more directly than any other to the conception of beings possessing the attributes of divinities; for the notion of a Maker includes from the first power, dignity, authority, and some degree of benevolence. Yet this very early and potent source of the idea of great unseen beings has been very insufficiently taken into account. The idea of a mighty Maker of things may safely be attributed to men as low in general intelligence as are the lowest tribes now extant, for it appears very early in the child. The first definite inquiries about causes are usually made towards the end of the second year. After that time the question "What makes that?" is for many months frequently on the child's lips. At first his inquiries bear upon particular things and not upon the origin of things in general. Moreover, he does not necessarily think of personal causes. A little later on, however, he passes from particular problems to the general

<sup>10</sup> The theory of Max Müller and of Adelbert Kuhn, according to which the starting point of religion was the personification of the more striking natural objects, bears only a superficial resemblance to the theory that the origin of superhuman beings was by the direct, spontaneous personification with which we are concerned. The process of personification which these authors describe is an accident due to the distorting action upon thought of an insufficiently definite language. Natural objects, they explain, were originally described by their effects, in terms similar to those used to name the actions of human beings. The sun, for instance, was "the one which darts shafts of light." *The one*, because of linguistic indefiniteness and the natural tendency to conceive movement as arising from a personal cause, came to be understood in a personal sense. Thus, according to this theory, arose the nature-gods and the myths clustering around them.

one, and thinks of a personal Creator.<sup>11</sup> Many persons have had the good fortune to be present at the child's sudden awakening to this problem and his immediate solution of it by the assumption of a great Maker conceived vaguely as a human being. A child notices a curiously made stone, and asks who made it. He is told that it was formed in the stream by the water. Then suddenly he throws out in quick succession questions that are as much exclamations of astonishment as queries: "Who made the streams? Who made the mountains? Who made the earth?" If children five years old begin of themselves to inquire into the origin of the world, one must admit the presence of such queries in the mind of the most intelligent individuals of the lowest tribes.

The Great Maker or Makers usually take on a human shape, probably because men and not animals are to primitive man the constructors of things. The nests of birds and lairs of animals are no better than the huts of the savage himself, and animals make no implements of any sort. The making of weapons and other necessary objects is one of primitive man's vital occupations. One may well suppose, therefore, that, when he thought of the making of things about him, he placed the Great Maker in the human rather than in the animal group. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that in some cases the Great Maker should have assumed an animal form.

In many primitive societies certain names supposed to designate high personal Gods have been found by later

<sup>11</sup> Before her eighth year, Helen Keller, who is blind, deaf, and mute, had begun to ask questions regarding the origin of things and of herself. Her teacher, Miss Sullivan, thought it preferable to delay an explanation, and told her that she was too young to understand. Her inquiries became more and more urgent. In May, 1890, (she was born in June, 1880), she wrote on her tablet,—"Who made the earth and the seas, and everything? What makes the sun hot? Where was I before I came to mother?" See Miss Sullivan's report of 1891 (p. 370), republished in the supplement to *The Story of My Life*, by Helen Keller, (1903). It is not uncommon for a normal child to puzzle about these questions from his fifth year or even earlier.

scholars to have only a non-personal significance. If we accept both this conclusion and the one now reached concerning belief in a Great Maker, we shall expect to find among primitive peoples one name for a general non-personal force and another for a great Creator. But after a time the non-personal power may naturally enough in many tribes have come to assume personal characteristics, either by direct personification, or by fusion with the creator-idea.

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PRESENCE OF IDEAS OF SUPERHUMAN BEINGS OF SEVERAL INDEPENDENT ORIGINS.

I know of no sufficient reasons, either psychological or historical, for denying any of the following propositions. Each appears to me possible, and, under appropriate circumstances, probable.

(1) Several of the sources may have operated simultaneously in the formation of diverse ideas of superhuman beings and subsequently of gods, so that several gods of different origins may have, from the first, divided the attention of the community.

(2) These sources may have been effective not simultaneously but successively. A ghost-ancestor may have first attained dominance and, later on, a Great Maker.

(3) Any order of succession is possible. It is nearly simultaneously that the belief in unseen personified causes of external events arises in the child's mind, that dreams begin to play a part in his waking life, and that the problem of creation presents itself to him. The question as to which is the first cannot be given a universally valid answer. If we imagine a group of children living in close companionship, uninfluenced by adults, we may conceive that belief in beings arising from any of these sources would, according to the peculiarities of the children and the circumstances of their lives, first gain ascendancy.

(4) When several gods existed side by side, fusion and confusion of their characteristics could hardly be avoided: to a deified ancestor may have been ascribed the attributes of a creator, and to a creator the role of an ancestor; a non-moral nature-divinity may have been raised above the natural phenomenon to which it owed its origin, and become, as among the old Aryans, creator and governor of the world. An interaction of god-ideas of different origin,—and therefore of different nature,—is one of the fundamental facts to be taken into account by the student of the origin of religion.

It is for the anthropologist and the historian to discover what, in any particular case, has actually happened in these four respects, and to determine the origin or origins of any particular god. They will have to say, for instance, why Shintoism is a cult addressed exclusively to ancestral spirits, to family and national ancestors, while the other god-ideas have remained unknown to the Japanese, or have been suppressed under the influence of circumstances favourable to the worship of ancestors. It was otherwise with the Aryans. Their imagination was captured by ideas of nature-gods, sun, fire, storms, etc. The richness and versatility of the Greek mind provided that wonderful race with a pantheon composed of ancestor-gods, creator-gods, and nature-gods. Why these differences? As to the psychologist, he may regard his task as completed when he has pointed out the several possible origins of the god-ideas, the characteristics of each, and the nature of the causes which determine the dominance of particular gods.

I close this paper with an illustration of the usefulness of the principles I have just set forth in solving a different problem in the history of early religion.

It is an old opinion that even the lowest savage entertains a belief in a Supreme Being, however dimly conceived and little revered. This view was originally based quite

as much on the propensity of Christians to discover at the beginning of society beliefs in agreement with their own, as on actual facts concerning these peoples. Although this opinion suffered temporary discredit from the discovery that in several instances the alleged monotheistic beliefs really proceeded from the teaching of missionaries, recent anthropological researches furnish sufficient evidence to warrant a return to this view. It seems now established that in every part of Australia except perhaps among the Arunta, a tribe of the central regions, there is a belief in an All Father, who is perhaps always regarded as creator. He is variously named in the different tribes,—Baiaame, Duramulum, Mungamongana, Nureli, etc., that is, our father, father of the whole people, father of all the tribes who observe the law, great master, and the like.

In Africa there also exists, it seems, a general belief in a great god conceived as creator. Miss Mary Kingsley says that—

“The god, in the sense we use the word, is in essence the same in all of the Bantu tribes I have met with on the Coast: a non-interfering and therefore a negligible quantity. He varies his name; Anzambi, . . . Nyam, Ukuku, Suku, and Nzam, but a better investigation shows that Nzam of the Fans is practically identical with Suku south of the Congo. . . . They regard their god as the creator of man, plants, animals, and the earth, and they hold that having made them, he takes no further interest in the affair. But not so the crowd of spirits with which the universe is peopled, they take only too much interest and the Bantu wishes they would not and is perpetually saying so in his prayers, a large percentage whereof amounts to “Go away, we don’t want you.” “Come not into this house, this village, or its plantations.””<sup>13</sup>

Concerning the natives of central Australia,—the most primitive of that continent,—Spencer and Gillen write,—“In all of the tribes there is a belief in the existence of

<sup>13</sup> *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 442-3. See also Mrs. L. Parker, *The Euhlayi Tribe*, pp. 4-10.

*alcheringa* (or its equivalent) ancestors, who made the country and left behind numberless spirit individuals."<sup>14</sup>

From Melanesia the evidence is equally interesting. Codrington mentions two superhuman beings who at any rate "were never human, yet in some ways originators of the human race; both were female, both subjects of stories not objects of worship." A little farther on he expresses some surprise at the existence in the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands of spirit-beings of two orders. He writes of Qat,—

"The place of Qat in the popular beliefs of the Banks' Islands was so high and so conspicuous that when the people first became known to Europeans it was supposed that he was their god, the supreme creator of men and pigs and food. It is certain that he was believed to have made things in another sense from that in which men could be said to make them . . . The regular courses of the seasons are ascribed to him, the calm months from September to December, when the *un*, Palola sea-worm, comes, the yearly blow, and the high tide in the month *wotgoro*. . . . With all this it is impossible to take Qat very seriously or to allow him divine rank. He is certainly not the lord of spirits."<sup>15</sup>

Let us note that these creators are not worshipped, although they occupy a higher station than any of the worshipped gods.

If recent travellers are to be believed, even the Negritos of central Africa, who are among the lowest human beings, know of a Great Maker, above and distinct from the host of spirits that are around them.<sup>16</sup>

Although the general existence of the belief in High Gods is now accepted by most anthropologists, there is no unanimity of opinion in regard to the origin of the belief. Some supporters of the Christian religion have tried to make capital out of this so-called original monotheism.

<sup>14</sup> *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> *The Melanesians*, pp. 150, 154-5.

<sup>16</sup> Mgr. A. Le Roy, *La Religion des Primitifs* (Paris: Beauchesne), 1909.



They have referred it to a revelation.<sup>17</sup> Andrew Lang, approaching the same facts in a different spirit, has drawn from them conclusions which contain certainly a valuable element of truth. He revives the discredited view of the existence, at the origin of human society, of a relatively noble religious belief, and of its subsequent degeneration into rites of propitiation and conciliation addressed to beings greatly inferior in power and in worth to the original High God, and he claims that his "theory, rightly or wrongly, accounts for the phenomena, the combination of the highest divine and the lowest animal qualities in the same being. But I have yet to learn how, if the lowest myths are the earliest, the highest attributes came in time to be conferred on the hero of the lowest myth."<sup>18</sup>

In my opinion, the priority of the High Gods is not the important point in the interpretation of the facts I have just cited; and, further, it would not necessarily follow from priority that the lower beings are degraded High Gods. The truth of the matter, as I see it, is that the High Gods *proceeded from an independent and specific source*; they are, or were originally, the Makers. The essential elements of my theory are that man comes to the idea of superhuman beings along several routes, that the characteristics of these beings depend upon

<sup>17</sup> See Father Wilhelm Schmidt in "L'origine de l'idée de Dieu," *Anthropos*, vol. iii. (1908), iv. (1909). These papers are researches at second-hand by a well-informed person who is evidently before all else a priest of the Roman Catholic Church and an apologist of the traditional Christian system.

<sup>18</sup> *The Making of Religion*, 2nd ed., Preface, p. xvi. As to the origin of the belief in a kind of germinal Supreme Being, he makes in the preface to the second edition (p. x) the following suggestion:—"As soon as man had the idea of 'making' things, he might conjecture as to a Maker of things. . . . He would regard this unknown Maker as a 'magnified non-natural man'." What is still happening to William James on account of *The Varieties of Religious Experience* happened to Andrew Lang. The authority of his name was claimed in support of a theory of revelation. In the preface to the second edition of *The Making of Religion*, he declares that he never intended to countenance the belief in an original revelation.

their origin, and that one,—or one class,—of these beings, the one arising from curiosity about the making of things, is necessarily a relatively lofty conception, awe-inspiring, and suggestive of power and benevolence. Gods arising from the belief in ghosts, or from the personification of portentous natural phenomena, might have appeared first, without at all hindering the coming into existence of a Creator-god; and, whenever that conception appeared, the god would have possessed the comparatively high and noble endowment naturally belonging, in the mind of even the lowest savage, to the Creator of man and things. The question of the order in which these notions found their way into the human mind is of subordinate importance.

This theory is quite consistent with our present anthropological knowledge; namely, that there exists among the most primitive people now living the notion of a Great God high above all others, to whom is usually assigned the function of creator, that these same people also believe in a crowd of spirits and ghosts, and that *within the limits of definite historical periods* "sacrifice and prayer become more and more numerous and more artificial in proportion as the idea of a Supreme Being grows dim."<sup>19</sup> The following considerations will, I hope, convince the reader that these facts do not necessarily support the corollary drawn by Lang, as well as by the defenders of an original revelation, that our most primitive tribes mark a deterioration from the earliest condition of humanity, but rather that the facts are consistent with a natural development and indicate the presence of no factor not operative in modern progressive societies.

The idea of a Maker I suppose to have originally presented itself to the race very much as it does to a five or six year old child who is suddenly struck with the idea that some one must have made the world. It did not, therefore, involve such notions as eternity, omniscience, omnipresence,

<sup>19</sup> Father Schmidt, *Anthropos*, iii., p. 604. This statement is probably much too sweeping.

omnipotence. The concept of a great Maker is, of course, awe-inspiring, because of the power it implies and of the mystery surrounding the operations of such a being. Some degree of interest and benevolence towards that which he has made is also, it seems, unavoidably associated with even the simplest idea of a Maker. Such a being must thus have been relatively exalted.

What modifications would this idea undergo when it passed beyond the gifted individuals who had conceived it and became the property of every tribesman, however brutish and ignoble? Undoubtedly there would occur the kind of modifications that history records in the case of more recent gods: they are transformed into beings more nearly like the worshippers themselves. But this process does not necessarily imply the deterioration of the people. The *gods* have been debased, but the people themselves have been raised to a higher level by these lofty notions, even though somewhat corrupted. This degrading process is the natural unavoidable method by which the masses gradually rise towards the level of those who have set for them unattainable ideals. Thus it is that the return to origins is frequently a progress.

In the case before us, special factors probably made the degrading process speedier and more irresistible. The exalted Maker found himself, in the mind of the people, in company with other superhuman beings of much humbler extraction. Even though one disregards the possibility of the personification of natural events, one must in any case reckon with the belief in the beings suggested by visions, temporary loss of consciousness, and other similar occurrences. Since these beings are human doubles, they may possess all the meanness and cruelty of the lowest of men. Their power, though not definitely known, is sufficient to excite fear, but not in most cases great enough to inspire awe. When associated with the ever-present, troublesome doubles, and the many petty spirits conceived in the same

way as ghosts, the Maker could hardly preserve his identity and his high attributes. A confusion must have taken place, and as the common is more easily understood and retained than the unusual, the lofty attributes of the High God conceived by the primitive philosophers became obscured and to him were attributed meaner traits originally belonging to lower gods. One may thus admit that, even in the absence of any real degeneration of a community, the oldest conception of the Maker was the noblest, provided a limited and specific historical period is considered. When this period of absorption and incubation is past, philosophers and seers again appear, who enlarge the reigning conceptions, charge them with higher worth, and return them to the people, who degrade them anew in the travail of their own elevation.

The fact that to many has seemed unaccountable, namely, that the Maker and All Father is not among early people an object of worship, while lower beings are prayed to and propitiated, seems to me just what would be expected of human nature. It is true that a Maker seems the being best qualified to become a God, since he possesses the necessary power and greatness, and must be, on the whole, benevolently inclined towards those whom he has created, and since man can hardly fail to feel his dependence upon a being from whom he proceeds; whereas the mysterious beings springing from human lineage, ghosts and low spirits, have not originally all the qualities required of a divinity. They must first be magnified and exalted if they are to inspire the religious attitude. Under these circumstances, the speedy appearance of religious practices addressed to the High God would seem unavoidable. Why then is he not sooner worshipped? Because his very greatness and remoteness stand as an obstacle in the way of practical religion, while ordinary spirits and great ancestors, more familiar and closer to man than a Maker, call forth more readily those methods of propitiation and

of worship constituting the lowest forms of religious expression.

The kind of attitude to be expected of an uncivilized man towards the Over-God is well illustrated, in at least one of its aspects, in the following report concerning the "noble tribes of the Bight of Panavia":

"At each new moon, the chief of a village goes out and stands alone in the open and talks to Anyambie. He does not praise Anyambie; he does not request him to interfere in human affairs; he, the chief, feels competent to deal with them, but he does want Anyambie to attend to those spirits which he, the god, can control better than a man, and he always opens the address to the great god with a catalogue of his, the chief's, virtues, saying: "I am the father of my people; I am a just man; I deal well with all men," etc. . . . At first hearing these catalogues of the chief's virtues used to strike me as comic, and I once said: "Why don't you get some one else to say that for you; praising yourself in that barefaced way must be very trying to you." "Oh no," said the chief, "and, besides, no man knows how good he is except himself," which is a common West Coast proverb. But by and bye—when I had been the silent spectator of several of these talks with the great god—the thing struck me as really very grand. There was the great man standing up alone, conscious of the weight of responsibility on him of the lives and happiness of his people, talking calmly, proudly, respectfully to the great god who he knew ruled the spirit world. It was like a great diplomat talking to another great diplomat. . . . there was no whining or begging in it, . . . the grandeur of the thing charmed me."<sup>20</sup>

This is of course neither worship nor propitiation; Anyambie is apparently too high a personage to concern himself with the details of human life, or to care for such offerings as would please a tribal chief. And yet he is not great or good enough to elicit awe, admiration, and reverence. Miss Kingsley's oft-repeated question, "Is he good?"

<sup>20</sup> M. H. Kingsley, "The Forms of Apparitions in West Africa," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, vol. xiv. (1898-9), p. 334.

was always answered negatively except by natives who had been under the influence of missionaries. "No! they say firmly, he is not what you call good; he lets things go too much, he cares about himself only, and I have heard him called "lazy too much, bad person for business," and a dozen things of that kind."<sup>21</sup> Now, if Anyambie's character were loftier, the chief might not so readily enter into conversation with him.

The difficulty of entering into formal relation with the Maker may be overcome, or rather avoided, by the introduction of intermediaries between man and the Almighty. It is quite probable that religious rites first appeared in connection with the belief in spirits very near to man; the closer to him, the more readily would he enter into practical relations with them, as he would with a great and powerful man. The practices of placing food in the graves, of making a fire near them, of placing hunting or fighting implements in them, not in the expectation of profit, but simply out of humane feeling, are probably prototypes of the earlier religious offerings and sacrifices.

The Maker, though not worshipped and propitiated so early as the lower gods, nevertheless exercises from the first an influence at times profound and often the most ennobling known to the primitive mind. In this connection one should remember Howitt's statement concerning the All Father of the South-Eastern Australians. He is, we are told,

"imagined as the ideal of those qualities which are, according to their standard, virtues worthy of being imitated. Such would be a man who is skilful in the use of weapons of offence and defence, all-powerful in magic, but generous and liberal to his people, who does no injury or violence to any one, yet treats with severity any breaches of custom or morality."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 335.

<sup>22</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 507.

Howitt, Hartland, and others have been unwilling to take the High Gods as Creators in the true sense of the word. They have held them to be primarily ancestors and, in particular, great chiefs deified. They have had no difficulty in showing that the All Father of the Australians is often spoken of as chief of the other world. G. McCall Theal says that the more reliable traditions mention Umkulunkulu, the Great Great One of the South African natives, as the most powerful of their ancient chiefs, and therefore he is unwilling to describe him as a Creator. Be this as it may with regard to Umkulunkulu, it remains established that the High God is usually spoken of as a Creator. To say, as Hartland does, that the concept of creation as we understand it is a notion foreign to the savage is beside the point, and, moreover, it is true only if "we" means the highly cultured few. The savage thinks of a Maker as children and even many civilized adults do. What is more likely than that this Maker of man and things should come to be spoken of as Great Chief, Ruler of the Sky Country, or First Ancestor?

The application of the term "monotheism" to the belief in the High God of the uncivilized is to be deprecated; for monotheism, in the current acceptance of the term, means more than a belief in a Maker; it means also that there exists no other god but him. This is obviously not implied in the conception of the High God. The Maker is the highest god, but there exists side by side with him other powerful gods. One should not expect the relation of the Maker to the other gods to be clearly and consistently defined. After all, the monotheism of our uneducated population is of a similar sort. Pure monotheism belongs to the few; the masses are rather henotheists.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For discussions regarding High Gods see the following: Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*; E. Sidney Hartland, "The High Gods of Australia," *Folk-Lore*, vol. ix., pp. 290-319 (a critical review of *The Making of Religion*); Lang, "Australian Gods," *Folk-Lore*, vol. x., pp. 1-46, (a reply to Hartland);

*Summary.*—The observation of a variety of natural phenomena suggests to the primitive mind the existence of unseen agents of different sorts: (1) dreams, trances, and allied phenomena generate the belief in ghosts and spirits of human form and attributes; (2) the personification of natural objects leads to the belief in nature-beings conceived frequently, but not necessarily, as animals; (3) the problem of creation gives rise to the belief in a Maker or Makers in the form of man.

These beliefs are neither manifestations of a diseased mind nor the outcome of a revelation; they arise from perfectly normal mental processes. There are few men living to-day, barring the mentally defective, who, if deprived of the inheritance of civilization, would not again people an unseen world with these unreal creatures.

But ghosts, spirits, and makers are not in themselves gods. Only a few of them possess from the first or acquire later on the attributes necessary to the establishment of the system of relations called religion, and are thus transformed into gods.<sup>24</sup>

J. H. LEUBA.

Hartland, "Australian Gods: a Rejoinder," *ibid.*, pp. 46-57; Hartland, "The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, by A. W. Howitt," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi., pp. 101-109; Lang, "All-Fathers in Australia," *ibid.*, pp. 222-224; A. W. Howitt, "The Native Tribes of South-East Australia," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii., pp. 174-189; Father Schmidt, *Anthropos*, vol. iii., pp. 819-833; A. van Gennep, *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie*.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of other topics relating to the origin of Religion and of Magic, see the author's forthcoming work, *The Psychology of Religion: its Origin, Function, and Future*.

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## THE "DREAMERS" OF THE MOHAVE- APACHE TRIBE [ABSTRACT].

BY BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO, SOMERVILLE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

*(Read at Meeting, April 17th, 1912.)*

[THE following abstract is made by permission of the Ethnologist-in-charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to whom a report on the Mohave-Apache will shortly be submitted.]

The Mohave-Apache, or Yavapai, are a small disorganised tribe of Yuman speech, of whom a certain number (less than two hundred) are settled on the M'Dowell Reservation. Their social organisation is slight; they live in camps of one, two, or three families, each camp ruled by one of the married men. There is no council; the war chieftainship is obsolete; one or two men, heads of large camps, are influential in an informal way. The people are much preoccupied with questions of health and disease. Agriculture is little developed, and their wars have come to an end, so that they have few common interests except health. Consumption is prevalent.

The most important persons are the "doctors," *kithié*. Certain of these are "little doctors," *kithié kádye*, who own songs to treat special cases; one has a song for snakebite, another a war-song to confer invulnerability, and another has a song for fractures and also keeps a stock of splints to set them; another man supplies the rarer medicinal roots.

The *kithié* practise cupping on the forehead (by cutting and sucking) for headache, but they do not as a rule prescribe or give medicines. The "sucking cure" is known, but discredited. The regular method of cure is by singing and shaking a rattle over the sick person.

The *kithié* par excellence are the *sumajé*, "dreamers." Four of these are recognised on the Reservation at present. They sing to cure, not one sort only, but all sorts of diseases. They also foretell pestilence and war, and prescribe public dances at which they "send a word up to heaven" on behalf of the people. The *sumajé* are qualified by having passed through a series of individual experiences, usually beginning in boyhood, by which they are brought into communication with a Person who makes them *sumajé* and tells them to cure the sick. This Person is spoken of sometimes as the Sun ("the person that passes over the sky"); sometimes as *skátaga-ámaje* (a myth-personage), or as "God" under the influence of recent Christian teaching; sometimes as "a *sumajé*," or "the maker of *sumajé*," or the "head of all the *sumajé*." In any case he is referred to as a "man" or "person" (*pa*), and Dr. Corbusier's description of him in animistic language as "the wise and truthful spirit Semache" seems to rest on a misapprehension. The Mohave-Apache have also the idea of the dead man, *mtye*, as a terrifying and dangerous apparition by night or in lonely places, and of dead people seen in dreams; but this has nothing to do with the *sumajé*'s inspiration. Neither does the *sumajé* profess to expel "spirits" from the sick.

The *sumajé*'s experiences are spoken of as his "dreams," but it is said that they are quite different from ordinary dreams. They include several Soul-journey and Interview types, apparitions, lights, voices, and a sensation of "seeing all the world," all this being sometimes embodied in a prolonged experience of resistance, final yielding, and illumination not unlike conversion.

When a man has had these experiences, he recounts them to the public at a dance, seeking acceptance and recognition. He is not really established as a *sumaj<sup>e</sup>* until people begin to call him to sing over the sick. The status of a *sumaj<sup>e</sup>* can be lost through failures to cure, especially at the outset of his career.

The *sumaj<sup>e</sup>* are paid for their services. Some of them teach their sons or take apprentices, but though they can give them their songs they cannot guarantee public recognition and acceptance, which depend on the experiences which the candidate is able to recount.

Some women are *sumaj<sup>e</sup>*.

BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO.

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## MEITHEI LITERATURE.

BY T. C. HODSON, EAST LONDON COLLEGE.

(*Read at Meeting, December 20th, 1911.*)

I HAVE for long had it in mind to examine Meithei literature, but it was, and still is, my purpose to examine it rather from the aspect of philology than from that of folklore. Dr. Grierson remarks<sup>1</sup> that the Manipuris are mentioned in the Shan chronicles as early as 777 A.D., and that their form of speech gives the impression of possessing a peculiarly archaic character. We know, too, from the same high authority,<sup>2</sup> that it sometimes agrees more closely with Burmese, and even with Tibetan, than with the Kuki-Chin dialects spoken all around it.

Mr. Damant<sup>3</sup> gives the following account of Meithei literature :—

"The most important MS. is called the "Tākhelgnamba,"<sup>4</sup> and contains an account of the wars between Pamheiba, *alias* Garib-Namaz, [Gharib Nawaz], king of Manipur, and the Rājā of Tiparah. The copy in my possession contains 45 leaves written on both sides. The next in importance is the "Samsokgnamba,"<sup>5</sup> which is a history of the war between Charairongbā and his son Pamhaiba of Manipur and the kings of Burma and Sumjok. It contains 36 leaves. The "Lānglōl," a short MS. of ten leaves only, is a treatise on morals, intermixed with proverbs and maxims, and would probably be interesting as throwing light on the customs of

<sup>1</sup> *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Takhel is Tippura ; *ngamba*, to conquer.

<sup>5</sup> Sam sok is Sumjok, Upper Chindwin district.

the Manipuris before their conversion to Hinduism. The only other MSS. of which I have been able to obtain information, are the "Meiyāng-gnamba,"<sup>6</sup> an account of the wars between Manipur and Kachār, and the "Salkau", a treatise on cattle and the respect to be shown to them. The above seem to comprise the whole literature of Manipur; but it is just possible that further search may reveal one or two other works. The MSS. are all written on a coarse, but very durable, kind of paper, with pens made of bamboo; paper blackened with charcoal on which they write with a soapstone pencil is also used. The character has now been almost entirely superseded by Bengali, and indeed but few of the Manipuris can read it. A national chronicle is, however, still kept up by the guild of priests, "maibeas"<sup>7</sup> as they are called, in which every event of importance occurring in the country is regularly recorded."

Mr. Damant is of opinion that the old Manipuri alphabet was introduced from Bengal in the time of Charairongba, who flourished about 1700 A.D. A local tradition which I collected declares that the art of writing was acquired from the Chinese who came to Manipur about 1540. There can be no doubt that the local character belongs to the Devanagari group, and is therefore of Indian origin. The word to write (*ī—ba*) is derived from the root *likh*, of which the provenance is not in dispute. That root *likh* survives in the word *lairik*,<sup>7</sup> a document, and the prefix *lai*, unless I am much mistaken, means divine, because mysterious or potent. "Taught as we are," says Tylor,<sup>8</sup> "to read and write in early childhood, we hardly realise the place this wondrous double art fills in civilised life till we see how it strikes the barbarian who has not even a notion that such a thing can be." It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Damant's collection of Meithei literature was lost after his

<sup>6</sup> *Meiyang*, foreigner from the west or Cachar.

<sup>7</sup> *Maibi*, priestess; *maiba*, priest (cf. *The Meitheis*, pp. 109-10). *Lai rik* in Meithei; *lai-li* in Thādo Kuki.

<sup>8</sup> *Anthropology*, p. 167.

murder in 1879. I have been able to identify the historical works which he mentions as parts of the Ningthaurol or Royal Chronicles of Manipur, and to this day the Meitheis love to hear tales of the great days of their glories when their armies swept to the walls of Ava, or of those later, sadder times when the hated Burmese ravaged their fair land and drove their king Chingtungkomba into exile among the hills.

The literature of the Meitheis shows clearly the influence of both Shans and Hindus. In Assam, as in Manipur, historical documents are still extant. Indeed, the "Assamese word for a 'history' is *buranji*, which is an Āhom word ... literally ... 'a store of instruction for the ignorant.'"<sup>9</sup> "The remarkable series of historical works which forms the glory of Assamese literature is no doubt due to the influence of the Āhoms."<sup>10</sup> The progress of Hinduism in Manipur was at first slow, but the Raja Pamheiba or Gharib Nawaz formally adopted Hinduism and made it the State religion about 1720 A.D. We may ascribe to Hindu influence the mass of religious literature which, translated into the vernacular, or at least into a vernacular dialect, serves as a vehicle for religious instruction. But of far greater interest for the folklorist is the native literature, of which I have been able to give one or two specimens in an earlier work.<sup>11</sup> The best, because the least contaminated, piece I know is the tale of Nūmit kāppa, the story of the slave who shot the sun. There were in ancient times two suns, so that slaves had no rest, for there was no night. He made a bow and arrows, and after trial of his skill succeeded in shooting one of the suns, but to the horror of all the land the other sun took fright and hid himself, so that all was darkness. Then magical rites were performed by which the sun was persuaded to come back to give light once more to earth. There is much in this tale of interest to students of magical rites and practices. Of another style is

<sup>9</sup> *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii., p. 67.      <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., *loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *The Meitheis*, pp. 125 *et seq.*

the tragic tale of Khamba and Thoibi, which, as Colonel McCulloch says,<sup>12</sup> never fails to rivet attention. The scene of this tale and the place where it was originally sung is Moirang, still a large village, on the western edge of the Logtak or great lake of Manipur, which in manners and customs is in many respects distinct from the generality of the Meithei. "The hero and heroine are persons said to have flourished hundreds of years ago. Thoibi is the daughter of the Moirang chief's brother. She loves Khamba, a lad poor in worldly riches, but rich in personal beauty, of good descent, great modesty, courage, strength, and agility. Thoibi is a young lady of unsurpassed beauty, and Khamba, having seen her by chance whilst boating on the Logtak, loves her at first sight. But the course of true love never did run smooth. A person named Kong Yamba saw Thoibi's love for Khamba, and, wishing to gain her for himself, he used all the means that a powerful connection gave him to crush Khamba. The various perils through which Khamba has to pass and the constancy of Thoibi form the burden of the song. After having won his foot-race, speared his tiger, caught his wild bull, and been tied to the foot of an elephant, Khamba gains Thoibi, who also passes through various troubles. The end is tragical. Khamba doubts his wife, and, trying her fidelity, she, not knowing who he is, spears him. Some of the characters introduced in the tale are very good. The constant repetition of this tale only seems to increase the desire to hear it. Thoibi is regarded as a goddess, and that Khamba was a man of giant proportion is held to be incontestable. This idea that Khamba was of giant size is not derived merely from his celebrity in song: that their ancestors were giants is believed by all." To this day at the temple in Moirang are preserved the robes of Thoibi. In style they are of the fashion still in vogue. The material is silk, very heavy and handsome, with an embroidered edge which does not differ in any

<sup>12</sup> *Account of the Valley of Munnipore etc.* (1859), pp. 26 et seq.

essential from the patterns now employed for the decoration of the ordinary *phanek*. These folk-tales are chanted, to the accompaniment of the *pena* or fiddle, in a high-pitched key with a crooning nasal tone. Though the actual words of the ballads are not now intelligible to the common people, everyone from old familiarity knows the purport of the passages; they know when to laugh at the witticisms of the comic characters and when to be moved to tears by the sad misfortunes of the hero and heroine. The *iseisakpa*,<sup>13</sup> the man who makes the song, is more often than not ignorant of the comfortable art of writing, and trusts to his considerable powers of memory. Variations, even gags, are permitted within certain limits. I have seen and collated three versions, which differ slightly in very unimportant details, but agree in all the points which Colonel M'Culloch mentions in his summary.

To the class of religious poetry due to Hindu inspiration belongs the tale of the sufferings of the gentle Saint Dhananjoy. He was a prince of the Kubo country, and forsook his duties to the State for the joys of family life with his wife and two sons. Meditation and divine worship were more to his liking than court business. His brother feared that he was plotting against him, and sent men to burn him and his. They escaped to the jungle, and wandered there for many days, houseless, hungry, worn with travel over rough stones. Vanu, the beautiful wife of the saintly prince, went to the river bank to beg for food, but was captured by a Mohammedan trader and a Chinese jeweller, whose boat was moored close by. She left her cloth on the bank to guide her husband and son in their search for her. At last they came to a place where was a village, but on the far bank of a mighty river. The prince swam across with his elder son, and was swimming back to fetch the sleeping baby he had left behind when a huge fish swallowed him in full sight of his elder son. Presently a *dhobi*

<sup>13</sup> *Sei*, song; *sak* or *sā*, to make.



(washer) woman came down to the river to ply her trade, and saw the handsome boy. The childless woman took pity on him, but, despite her entreaties, he would tell her nothing of his tale till she had fetched his baby brother across. She swam across with her wooden wash tub, and brought the baby across in it. She took the boys home, and, being childless, she and her husband adopted them. It chanced that some Doms caught a huge fish in their nets, and took it as a present to the king of the land, which in the tale is called Sapra. When the fish was cut open, the king and his courtiers were amazed to see therein, in the attitude of meditation, the saintly prince, to whom the monarch at once offered his throne and his daughter. The holy man would have neither, but asked only for a place to build him a house and for food. Then it fell out that the boat of the traders came to the place where the *dhobis* lived, and moored at their ghat. By local custom it fell to the turn of the foster-parents of the two boys to watch the boat, but the boys begged hard to be allowed to relieve their aged friends of this task. They sat on the bank by a fire, and talked together of their lost parents, and of a sudden heard their mother's voice calling them to the boat. They released her from the chest in which the traders had thrown her, intending to present her to the king. The traders haled them to the king's court for a breach of duty, but they told their tale, and the king sent for the saintly prince, who hastened to claim his wife and sons. The wicked Mohammedan merchant and the Chinese jeweller forfeited all their wealth as a punishment for their cruelty to the poor princess. This moving tale is obviously of foreign origin, but, while it starts from Kubo on the east, it takes us to the rivers on the west, for there are no Doms in Burma. In Assam the Doms are fishermen; elsewhere they carry out the dead, and are sweepers or professional thieves.<sup>14</sup> The great river must be the Brahmaputra. Yet

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Risley, Crooke, and Thurston, *s.v.*

it is on the Irrawaddy rather than on the Brahmaputra that Chinese traders will be found. The kingdom of Sapra is temptingly like Chapra, which is a very long way off in far Bengal. We have references to Saraswati, the Goddess of Wisdom, but there are also many references to Meithei deities, for whom the easy methods of Hindu proselytization has found a place. The tale is written in language which is fairly modern. There are, however, archaic words and phrases in it, and its structure is in general not modern.

I have elsewhere<sup>15</sup> given extracts from the Ningthaurol or Royal Chronicles of Manipur. Their historical value is really much greater than many people are willing to allow. If their chronology is difficult, they are honest enough to let us into the secret, for it is made quite clear that they have been condensed, revised, and redated more than once. Let me give you some extracts, taken at random, from the translation which was made by my orders and under my supervision years ago.

"ENGLISH ERA, 1605-06. In the year 1527 Sak,<sup>16</sup> Shanongba came from Cachar side with large numbers of troops to invade Manipur, but Khagenba defeated them and took one thousand captives, including their leaders, with thirty elephants and one thousand rifles. He settled the captives and made them work as buglers, drummers, *dhobis*, mahouts, and syces for horses. He introduced the system of polo game, and reformed the dresses of Manipuris. He introduced the system of using turbans and *lomkhangpoak*, a kind of head-dress used at the time of Lomjel and Hiang festivals. Of this same prince we read that on the year 1531 Sak, he took possession of the village of Kubomoksha, and took the headmen of that village captive. He made his favourite ladies to put on military dress, and sported with them in the intoxicated state. He arrested the headmen of the villages of Maringshaipot, Shainem, Kadow, Youngkhol, Koshong, Namshi, Narum, Makhal, and Chingshow when they came to see him in his palace. He introduced the system of smoking tobacco in pipes."

<sup>15</sup> *The Meitheis, passim.*

<sup>16</sup> Bengali era.

You will observe that this merry monarch was a contemporary of King James, whose *Counterblast to Tobacco* was published in 1604. We get more detail as we go on. In the year 1641 Sak, or our year 1719-20, Gharib Nawaz being king, it is stated that

"Formerly the Manipuris used to bury the dead bodies within their own house compounds, but the Raja Gharib Nawaz issued orders throughout the country to dig out all the graves and to remove the skeletons from their compounds. In the same year a new temple was built for the Goddess Senamahi. In 1723 this reforming king issued strict orders throughout the country preventing the subjects from worshipping idols of Manipur, and he destroyed the eleven temples for the worshipping of the idols of his ancestors. Formerly the Manipuri *maibas* used to do the works of priests for the worshipping of the idols of Manipur, but Raja Gharib Nawaz dismissed the *maibas* from their posts, and Brahmins were appointed in their place to worship the goddess and gods called Noongshaba, Eumthai lai, Panthoibi, and Taibong Khombi. In this year the Burmese attacked and invaded the country, but were repulsed.

In 1794-5 the Maharaja visited the house of Eumnam Muntry. Thakur Biddaratna came back from a trip to the Ganges. Twenty-five men came back from Burma. A messenger arrived from Tippera. There was a polo game between Wankhairākpa and the men of Ahalūp, Nahārūp, Khābum, and Laifam pannahs, but the Wankhairākpa won the game. A large number of men were sent to bring down timber from the hills. Chorjit came back from his trip to the Ganges. The uttra house<sup>17</sup> was built. There was an earthquake in November. A slave of Laisangthem was transported to Shuganu for murdering his wife. Wankhairākpa went to inspect the Chothe Nagas village. Tarao Palli Nagas caught a rhinoceros, and presented it to the Maharaja. The Maharaja of Tippera arrived in Manipur with his wife and children. Chothe Nagas were sent back to their village. Khe-laram went to recall Kubo Khullakpa from Tippera. The Raja personally inspected the place for building his palace at Khorikhul,

<sup>17</sup> A building inside the Pāt or Royal Enclosure in Manipur.

and the palace was built there. The Kurnabed (ear-piercing) ceremony of the sons of the Rajas Bhagga Chandra and of Tippera was performed on the same day, together with the holy thread ceremony. There was a ceremony at the new temple of Nityananda. There was a dispute between Erom Murari and Damudar. Murari accused Damudar as a Naga by birth, which resulted in fighting. Both parties were arrested and brought before the king. Murari with ten of his men was transported to Moirangkai and Waikokloi. Kubolumbu Senapati arrived from Tippera, and was transported to Moirang for making war at Tippera and killing many men there."

On the eminent authority of Shakespeare we have it that on the eve of the Ides of March, B.C. 44, strange sights were seen in the streets of Rome, (*Julius Caesar*, Act ii. Sc. 2):—

"A lioness hath whelped in the streets;  
And graves have yawned and yielded up their dead;  
Fierce, fiery warriors fight upon the clouds,  
In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,  
Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;  
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,  
Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan,  
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets."

Strange omens of dire import, too, have been observed in the streets of Imphāl.

"ENGLISH ERA, 1891-2. Sak 1813. The year of Thongsangba Durlav Singh. On the 13th Wednesday in the palace here a god's *dolai*<sup>18</sup> with flags came down from the sky before the Bejoy Garode at 10 o'clock in the morning. It disappeared at the distance of forty feet up from the ground. The people witnessed the scene, and the matter was reported to the Maharaja. The next day the *maibas* were called in, and the Maharaja asked what sort of a *dolai* it was. Wangkhai Pandit replied that it was Pākhangba's *dolai*. The nine arms or gear of Pākhangba will come down in the Kangla compound. The *dolai* was the first thing to come, and after this the whole country will be in happiness for a long time. Nongmaitemba Pandit seconded him, and advised the

<sup>18</sup> Doolie.

Maharaja to worship Pākhangba. Touri Ashoiba Hidang said their prophecy might hold good, but to him it appeared that next year a calamity would come. . . . The *maibas* were in such disagreement as to the purport of this omen. . . . Then the Panjees were called in, and the Maharaja asked them what they thought of the appearance of the *dolai*. Kamalakanto, Wahengba Thabal, and Sarang Jugol Singh said,—“O, Maharaja, unforeseen events have been witnessed. This is an ominous sight. This will bring no good to the Maharaja or to his subjects.” The Maharaja asked how these evils could be removed. Kamalakanto advised the Maharaja to offer tulsi (sacred basil) leaves and boiled rice with milk and sugar to the gods, and to feed the Brahmans. On that day the moon was enveloped with red and black and green mists. On the following day the sun was covered with mist at midday. 11th Sunday, news of the arrival of British troops in the north arrived.”

There were guilty consciences in Manipur then, for the columns from the north and east and west were hurrying fast on Imphāl to avenge the murder of the Chief Commissioner and his companions.

Some of the passages are as dull as a parish magazine; others are full of good stuff; but I am profoundly convinced that by the strictest modern tests there is plenty of good history here, and much of it is good direct history. There are dates, precise dates—year, month, and day—to satisfy the most exigent modern dry-as-dust historian. There is real life in it. If battles and bloodshed abound in parts, there is also a record of the events, domestic and social, that stirred the hearts of the people—it is a psychological as well as a historical record. Some time or other it may be possible to publish these chronicles as they stand, to collate them with documents from Assam, Tippera, and Burma, and to give to the world which is interested in such things a curious record full of valuable matter for the student of the evolution of semi-civilised societies.

T. C. HODSON.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### JAPANESE MAGIC.

(Read at Meeting, May 15th, 1912.)

THE subject of Japanese magic has been already treated by me briefly in *Shinto* (*The Way of the Gods*), and the present paper does little more than add a few gleanings left over from the main harvest.<sup>1</sup> They are taken chiefly from two Japanese books of "wonderful arts" which are a strange medley of household receipts and magic. We are told, for example, on one page that, if a man wishes to know whether a fascinating *musūme* is not in reality a fox who is luring him to disgrace or destruction, he should obtain her reflection in an old mirror, upon which her vulpine form will be revealed. The very next item is "How to have large, handsome and well-flavoured oranges :—Thin them out freely at an early stage of their growth."

One Japanese lexicographer defines magic (*majinai*) as the "healing of disease by borrowing the power of *Kami*<sup>2</sup> or Buddhas," while another describes it as "the keeping off of calamity by the aid of the supernatural power of *Kami* and Buddhas." Worse definitions it would be difficult to give, though perhaps the famous description of a crab as a small red fish which only walks backwards may be quoted as a parallel. In reality it is but rarely that the *Kami* and Buddhas are utilized by the Japanese magician. The healing of disease is only one of his many objects, and "the keeping off of calamity" is also a very inadequate description.

<sup>1</sup> See also "Japanese Household Magic," by W. L. Hildburgh, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, vol. viii., pp. 136-57.

<sup>2</sup> [I.e. Shinto divine beings and "all other things whatsoever which deserve to be dreaded and revered" (Motoōri). The dead are *Kami*.—Ed.]

Both of these definitions omit *noroi*, a kind of magic which is defined, not very correctly, as "doing injury to others by praying to *Kami* and Buddhas." Prayer is not a magical procedure *per se*.

"Oh Lord our God arise,  
Scatter his enemies  
And make them fall"

is not a magical formula. Probably all these definitions have their source in the European studies of the lexicographers.

*Majinai* and *noroi* correspond roughly to our white and black magic. R. L. Stevenson says that "white magic doth naught with the devil, only the powers of numbers, herbs and plants." In Japan, Satan is conspicuous by his absence. His place is to some extent taken by the Fox, the Badger, and the Dog, whose supernatural powers are used by the Japanese magician for evil purposes. It is true that there are *oni* (demons) of Buddhist origin, but their relation to the magician is different. Magic protects against the *oni*, and does not make use of him. There is mention in old Japanese books of "men who had foxes in their service in order to exercise magic power."<sup>3</sup> Nobody will marry into families where there are these *kitsune-tsukai* (fox-users). Dog-sorcery (*inu-gami*, i.e. dog-god) is described by the great Shintoist writer Motoōri as follows:—"A hungry dog is tied up in sight of food which he is not allowed to eat. When his desire is keenest his head is cut off, and at once flies to seize the food. This head is put into a vessel and worshipped: a serpent or a weasel will do as well." Motoōri does not tell us for what purpose this kind of sorcery was practised. It reminds us of Horace's *Canidia* (Epode v.), who made a love-philtre from the marrow and liver of a boy who had been buried up to the neck and starved to death of hunger in sight of food changed two or three times a day. There are other cases in Japanese story of the materialization and transference of pain or passion. No doubt we should place in this class the case of Susa no wo, the Rain Storm God,<sup>4</sup> the climax to

<sup>3</sup> I quote from "The Fox and Badger in Japanese Folklore," by Dr. M. W. de Visser, in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xxxvi., Part 3. This and other papers by the same author are indispensable for the study of Japanese folklore.

<sup>4</sup> [Or, according to the *Nihongi*, god of the sea, or of the Netherworld.—Ed.]

whose mischievous deeds was to flay a piebald colt of Heaven "with a backward flaying" and fling it into the sacred weaving-hall where Amaterasu, the Sun-Goddess, was engaged in weaving the garments of the deities.

For obvious reasons our available evidence respecting black magic is comparatively scanty. Its practitioner does not commit his procedures to paper. But it is well-known in Japan. In the *norito* by which the Mikado twice a year pronounces to his people the remission of their ritual offences, bewitchment is one of the sins enumerated. There is a proverb which says, "If you practise witchcraft (*noroi*) against a man, there are two graves." The term *inori-korosu* (to kill by prayer) is found in dictionaries.

Most Japanese magic is non-religious. But to this rule there are numerous exceptions, as in the cases of black magic just referred to. Amongst other primarily religious magical procedures may be instanced the nailing of a sliver of wood from one of the shrines of Ise over the door as a protection against robbery, and the use of a religious picture or emblem hung in a bag round a child's neck as a safeguard from accident or disease (*o mamori*). More commonly, however, the religious element is an afterthought introduced in order to give increased potency to a primarily non-religious magical procedure. A good example is described by Dr. Griffis in *The Mikado's Empire*.<sup>5</sup> Here the operator, a jealous woman, impales an effigy of her victim on a tree. So far we have a sympathetic magic of a familiar type. But the tree is the property of a shrine, and the gods are adjured to impute the desecration to the offending person, and to visit him or her with their deadly vengeance. There is a practice in some parts of Japan for the old women of a village to put barren women through the form of delivering them of a child, represented by a doll. This is ordinary mimetic magic. But some sort of religious sanction is given to it by the date selected for the operation, viz., that of the phallic festival at the first full moon of the year. In other cases a purely non-religious magic is stated to have been practised or taught by gods. Whistling to raise the wind is an example. Jimmu Tennō, the deified legendary founder of the Japanese empire, is said to have first taught the use of magical formulæ.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii., p. 474.



The gods Ohonamochi and Sukunabikona are credited with the invention of medicine and magic. Much of the non-religious magic of Japan has its roots in the Chinese Yin and Yang philosophy and geomancy.

The following is a selection of instances of Japanese magic translated from the printed books mentioned :—

The art of using great stones for confirming houses. By this art all manner of calamities of supernatural origin and malignant influences are averted and quieted. On the last day of the twelfth month,—(the date of the *oni-yarai*, or demon-expelling ceremony),—bury a large stone at each of the four corners of the dwelling-house. Or bury a round stone at each corner and on each of these stones crush seven peach-stones. Evil influences can then work no mischief. Let not this be doubted. Or you may plant at each corner a branch of a peach tree which has grown to the south-east. As an alternative it may be hung on the entrance gate. Or you may take a peach which is still hanging on the tree in the eleventh month. This is called a divine peach. Hang it up in the house, and it will keep away the hundred devils, the five poisons, and all inauspicious things.<sup>6</sup>

To prevent devils and apparitions of all kinds from entering a house and practicers of magic from exercising their devilish art. Sprinkle the blood of a white-dog on each of the four entrance gates.

When, by reason of malignant influences or curses, a man is troubled by nightmare (lit. dream-attack) let him use a pillow made of a boot of red blanket. Or he may use a pillow made of rhinoceros horn.

To prevent nightmare caused by other than malignant influences. Boil peaches and drink in urine twenty-one kernels.

The art of making a husband and wife live together in harmony. Take the leg-bones of a pigeon which has cooed on the fifth day

<sup>6</sup> The peach occurs very frequently in Japanese and Chinese conjurations. It represents the *hitei*, a symbol of life and an enemy to death and disease. [The origin of the practice of keeping off evil spirits by peaches is ascribed to an adventure of the creator Izanagi in his descent to the Netherworld in search of his dead consort. See Aston, "The Nihongi," p. 30, Supplement to *The Transactions of the Japan Society*, (1896).—Ed.]

of the fifth month, put them in vermillion bags, and hang them, one on the man's left arm, and the other on the woman's right. Or let them be carried constantly in the sleeve.

To cure a wife of envy and jealousy. Feed her on boiled nightingales. [A Chinese recipe.]

Undutiful conduct in a child, wife, or concubine may be cured by plastering the kitchen furnace with a mixture of earth and dog's liver.

To make a woman reveal her fickleness. Take earth from the footprint of a horse that has gone in an easterly direction, and hide it in her clothing.

To make one's posterity rise to high office. Hang up a tiger's nose over the door.

To make a person wealthy. Hang to the roof-tree the ear of a twelfth-month pig.

To make a poor man rich. On the seventh day of the seventh month, let him take earth secretly from a rich man's garden and therewith plaster the kitchen furnace [which is deified in Japan]. The next year he will undoubtedly become rich. Another plan is to plaster the kitchen furnace on the last day of the year with earth from the field of a wealthy farmer.

The shell of a crab suspended over the gates of a house will avert diseases caused by demoniac influences.

To quell a storm. Burn the pelt of a black dog, and scatter the ashes down the wind.

To become invisible. Take pills composed of the liver of a white or pale-coloured dog mixed with *tsusōku* (a drug).

A preservative against epidemic disease. Take two oz. of cinabar of first quality. Reduce it to powder, and with honey make it into pills the size of hempseed. On the last day of the year let all the household, before eating anything else, turn to the east and swallow whole twenty-one of these pills. This is a sure safeguard against pestilence. [Here it may be noted that red is the colour of life, and that the last day of the year is the date on which demons, *i.e.* diseases personified, are expelled. The choice of an odd number as lucky is also to be observed. (Cf. also use of red and of number twenty-one in nightmare charms above.—ED.)].

To prevent smallpox from injuring the sight. Give the child

seven green beans to throw into the well, which must be prayed to seven times.

To prevent injury to the eyes from smallpox. Apply to them blood squeezed from a living crayfish or sparrow.

Are you disturbed in your sleep by a crying child? Place under its bed grass from the lair of a wild boar. This must be done without the knowledge of the mother or nurse. Or hang on its back a red bag containing the hair of a dog. Or place a lump of cow-dung under the bed. The mother and nurse must not know of this.

To obtain one's heart's desire. Drink saké in which ashes of the feathers of a cock have been infused. Or, on the fifth day of the fifth month, take the head of a wild boar, place it on the kitchen furnace, and do worship to it.

To prevent a fox from returning to his hole and working you mischief. Place a rhinoceros's horn in it. A rhinoceros's horn is also good against possession by cats, foxes, and badgers.

A lifelong cure for sneezing. Swallow two spoonfuls of an ox's saliva.

To dispel mists when travelling by land or water. Take raw beans and reduce them to powder by pounding them in a mortar or by chewing them. If this is scattered on the road or the water the mist will disperse.

How to know whether a sick man will live or die. The man whose temperament is of metal will die if he has taken ill on a certain specified day of the sexagenary cycle, and so on. [This is pure Chinese.]

To improve the complexion. Use an application of white of eggs.

How to remain beautiful for ever. Take on the *Kanoye* day<sup>7</sup> and at the *Kanoye* hour the blood of a woodpecker and drink it with your face turned towards the west. Your complexion will retain its pearly beauty.

To become beautiful in a week. Crush a wild gourd and dissolve in water in which red ochre has been mixed. Apply every night and wash it off in the morning.

<sup>7</sup>[The decimal and duodenary cycles of the calendar restart together on every sixty-first day, which is the *Kanoye ne*, a festival to Ebisu and Daikoku, two of the "Seven Happy Gods."—Ed.]

To prevent frogs from croaking. Take powder of the flowers of wild chrysanthemum, and scatter it down the wind. This will stop their croaking for several days.

How to wake up at any hour you wish. Think steadily of the hour you want to awake. Go into your chamber, and, if a man, write on the palm of your left hand, or, if a woman, on the palm of your right hand, the Chinese character for "great." Then lick it off. Do this three times. Also repeat the following verse,— "If I should sleep too soundly, do thou, O my Pillow-God, wake me up." [There are several things here worth noting. First we have a rational piece of advice. Many, perhaps most, people can wake up when they please, in order to catch an early train or on another emergency. Then magic comes in. The virtue of the number three is widely recognised in the occult world. The preference of the left over the right is a Chinese trait. Both in China and Japan the Premier of the Left (*Sadaijin*) takes precedence of the Premier of the Right (*Udaijin*). Note also the virtue of the Chinese character, which may be compared with the use of Latin for conjuration in Europe. European precedent might also be quoted for the swallowing of written magical formulæ. Lastly, the aid of religion is invoked. The Makura-gami (pillow-god) is not one of the greater gods of Japan. He has no temples, and is not mentioned in the older Shinto records. But he is, nevertheless, as genuine a deity as Morpheus. While the effective part of this process is, no doubt, the fixing of the mind steadily on the hour of waking, it may be admitted that the superadded magical and religious devices are well calculated to confirm that condition of the subliminal mind on which the desired result depends.]

How to keep away an unwelcome visitor. Take a clean bit of earthenware. Inscribe it with the name of the person and the Chinese character for "stop." Put it up in yellow paper, tie it crosswise, and bury it in the ground three feet deep at the place by which the person usually approaches.

How to avoid being thrown by a horse. Write on your hand three times the Chinese character for "south." Let no one see you do so.

How to avoid poisonous influences of all kinds when on a

journey or when from home by night. Every morning turn to the east and repeat the phrase *Ko-so-roka-ma-ya-taku* three times, spitting each time. You need then have no fear of *kappas*,<sup>8</sup> dogs, or other animals.

A charm against thunder. On the ninth day of the ninth month, cut a peach-stone into a triangular form, and wear it in a three-cornered bag.<sup>9</sup>

How to keep off malignant influences and fire throughout the year. At daybreak on the last day of the year put some water in a bucket or basin, and go round behind the privy, taking care that nobody sees you. Then sprinkle the water three times. It is wonderful how this will preserve you against evil influences and fire.

The *moxa*<sup>10</sup> applied between the toes will cure intermittent fever.

*Moxa* (*mo-gusa*), i.e. tinder, applied to the navel and kept in its place by a band, will prevent suffering from the heat when travelling, and will also act as a prophylactic against cholera and dysentery.

A remedy for ringworm (*tamushi*). Write with ink over it the character for "lung" in the middle with three rows of asterisks round it in circles. Then repeat the name of Buddha seven times to the ringworm. Or write over it the character for "south" three times.

A child born in the daytime will be like its father; at night like its mother.<sup>11</sup>

Secret method of altering the sex of an unborn female child to a male. In an early period of pregnancy, let the mother put on her husband's nightdress, cap, or hat, and go round the well three times early in the morning. Then let her look twice at her face

<sup>8</sup>[The *kappa* or *kawako* is a ferocious being believed to live in the rivers of the southern island Kyushū, with "the body of a tortoise, limbs of a frog, and the head of a monkey."—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup>[Peaches were thrown at the thunders which pursued Izanagi in the Netherworld. See *Nihongi*, p. 30.—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup>[The *moxa* is a cone or cylinder of the downy covering of the dried leaves of *Artemisia moxa*, for burning on the skin.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup>This is a deduction from the *In* and *Yō* (*Yin* and *Yang*) philosophy of China. *In* is female, dark, negative, etc. *Yō* is male, bright, positive, etc.

reflected in the water. She must not look behind her, but repeat to herself with faith the following,—“Woman is *In*. Man is *Yō*. Woman is unlucky. Man is lucky.” She should then place the lid over the well and leave it there for three days, during which no water should be drawn. This divine method will certainly result in the birth of male children.<sup>12</sup>

How to know whether an unborn child is a boy or a girl. When the pregnant woman is walking towards the south, let some one call to her from behind. If she looks back from the left, the child will be a boy, if from the right, a girl. Or, add together the years of age of the father and mother. Divide by nine. If the remainder is an odd number it is a girl; if even, a boy.

To cure drunkenness. Mix with the food dew taken from the stump of a bamboo early in the morning. Do this for seven days, and the patient will then suddenly take a dislike to strong drink. This is an exceptionally profound secret.

To convert a drunkard into a teetotaler. Give him the milk of a white dog mixed with saké. This will cure the most confirmed funnel. The sweat of a horse mixed with saké will answer equally well.

To prevent seasickness. Before going on board ship, twist paper and stuff it into your nose. Then sneeze three times. Or, take some salt, apply it to the navel, and keep it in its place by pasting a strip of paper over it.

How to know a fox or a badger which has assumed human form. Look at him through your left sleeve.

How to see in the dark. Take a block of crystal of the best quality. Hollow it out on the top, and fill the cavity with quicksilver. Place this against your forehead and you will see wonderfully well in the dark.

To see in the dark. Calcine and reduce to powder the feathers of an owl's wing. Dissolve in the juice of *ukigusa* (a herb) and apply it to the eyes.

For toothache. Chew shavings of a tree that has been struck by lightning.

To cure cowardice. Swallow a powder made of the shavings of a tree that has been struck by lightning.

<sup>12</sup> The well is one of the domestic gods of Japan. [*Suijin sama*.—Ed.]

To keep off a vicious dog. Repeat the following,—“I am a tiger. However much he may bark, a dog is a dog. Shall he not fear the bite of a lion?” Then repeat the twelve zodiacal signs, viz., dog, wild boar, rat, ox, tiger, etc., telling them off on your fingers, beginning with the thumb. When you have done, clench your fist tightly.

To keep awake at nights. Take the tail of a falcon, calcine it, and infuse the ashes in water. Put some of this on the navel, and paste paper over it. This will keep you awake for many nights.

To bring to life a man who has been killed and blackened by lightning. Lay him down promptly, light a torch, and apply the heat of it to him. [Similia similibus curantur.] If water is accidentally applied he will die.

To keep off lightning. Carry *shitōkō*<sup>13</sup> in your bosom. Or, when it thunders, burn some. No lightning will fall in that neighbourhood.

A wonderful incense called the Heaven and Earth Three God Incense. Burn it with your face turned towards the sky, and you will attain all that you desire. Burn it in the wood, and you will not fear the approach of wild beasts, poisonous serpents, or venomous insects or reptiles. Burn it habitually, and you will escape robbery and wounds by swords. Burn it on board ship, and you will prevent danger from the winds and waves. You will be free from pestilence and epidemic disease. You will be purified from all manner of uncleanness. Burn it before *Kami* and Buddhas, and their favour will be conciliated. Burn it when it thunders, and no lightning will fall in the neighbourhood. Keep some in a charm-bag, and let it not leave your person. Its beneficial influence will be felt in an infinite manner.

To keep out snakes. Write on small wooden tablets the Chinese characters for “White Horse.” Hang one of these upside down at each corner of the room. Experience shows that snakes will not pass them. Flies and mosquitoes may be kept out by other Chinese characters.

To stop a pot from making a rumbling noise [unlucky] when boiling. Say to it,—“Bajo ! Bajo !” Bajo is the [Chinese] name

<sup>13</sup> Kind of incense.

of the god of the kitchen furnace. This will convert bad luck into good. The same result will follow if the kitchen furnace is approached by a man in woman's clothing, or by a woman dressed as a man.

If you see rats leave a ship, be careful not to take a passage by her. She will certainly suffer shipwreck.

To discover a thief. Calcine some *kobu* (edible seaweed) which has been offered to the *Toshitokujin* [the predominant deity of the year], put it into saké, and make the suspected person drink it. If guilty, his cheeks will swell up in a wonderful way.

To keep insects from injuring crops. Bury at each corner of the field a horse's hoof which has been cut off.

A fruit tree which has been planted in the first half of the month will thrive, if in the second, not.

Children should not point at the moon.

Sneezing on certain days has a special meaning. Thus on the day of the Rat it portends a revel, on the day of the Ox sorrow, on the day of the Tiger something strange, on the day of the Dragon a marriage, and on the day of the Cock a guest.

To be bold at night. Write with your finger on the palm of your hand the three Chinese characters meaning "I am a demon!"

To avoid danger in crossing a river. Write with a pen, with your finger, or with vermilion, the Chinese character for "Earth."

To bring back a runaway. Wrap a compass in paper, and place it in his garment or girdle. Then hang it in the well, and he will straightway come back. Or, if you nail his straw shoe in front of the kitchen furnace he will come back of his own accord.<sup>14</sup>

To cure intermittent fever. Take a pear, and, standing with your face to the south, draw in your breath once. Then repeat the following spell three times :—

"In the south there is a pond,  
In the pond there is water,  
In the water there is a fish,—  
Three heads,—nine tails,—  
It eats not human flesh,  
Nor the fine kinds of grain,  
But it devours the ague devil."

<sup>14</sup> Both the well and the kitchen furnace are domestic deities in Japan. [*Suijin sama* and *Kojin*.—Ed.]



Then blow on the pear and write on it the three Chinese characters which mean "Imperial—command—slay—devil." If the patient eats this pear on the day before his ague is due, it will not come. There is no example of this method failing.

To remove a bone which has stuck in the throat. Draw a *wakizashi* (short sword) a little, and point it at the patient. Take out the small knife of the hilt,<sup>15</sup> and prick the *wakizashi* with it in a certain fashion. The bone will then come away.

To stop hæmorrhage. Write on the patient's forehead the Chinese characters which mean "I, great treasure." The flow of blood will stop at once.

To cure hiccough. Let a man write on the palm of his left hand, a woman on her right hand, the character for "dog" three times.

Divination from the crowing of cocks. Crowing in the evening twilight is lucky, in the early night unlucky. If the hen crows, it means ruin to the family.

Rats are driven away by burning a dough made of a black dog's blood and powder of a roasted crab.

Fire and thunder are kept off by planting a herb called *chinkwasō* (i.e. fire-quieting herb). The thunder fears this herb.<sup>16</sup>

(The late) W. G. ASTON.

<sup>15</sup> [The *kodauka*.—Ed.]

<sup>16</sup> [The *hinode* or "sunrise grass" growing on the roof is expected to protect a house from fire.—Ed.]

#### THE GAME OF "THREAD THE NEEDLE" AND CUSTOM OF CHURCH CLIPPING.

"Thread the Needle" is a game in which two of the players hold up their arms to form an arch, while the others in line run or creep under. This is done repeatedly, the couples taking it in turn to form the "needle's eye." When adults took part in "Thread the Needle," it was played on some particular day of the year; it now survives as a children's game, not restricted to any season.

"Church Clipping" is the encompassing of a parish church by a ring of children or young persons, who join hands so as to form a great circle.

In the following notes I have detailed all the instances which I have been able to collect, with their associated games, customs, and songs, and, wherever possible, the exact scene of each, but I do not offer any suggestion as to a relation of these two ceremonies to each other.

Seventeen examples of the game of "Thread the Needle" and the custom of Church Clipping may be arranged as follows:—

I. "*Thread the Needle*" followed by *Church Clipping*, no other ceremonies, except pancake eating, being mentioned as peculiar to the day, which was always Shrove Tuesday:—

Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts).	Ellesmere (Salop).
South Petherton (Somerset).	Wellington (Salop).

II. "*Thread the Needle*" associated with other games and ceremonies, but without *Church Clipping*:—

Kendal (Westmoreland).	( <i>Easter Tuesday</i> .)
Leicester (Leicestershire).	( <i>Easter Monday</i> .)
Minchinhampton (Glos).	( <i>Easter Monday</i> .)
Nassington (Northants).	( <i>May Day</i> .)
Helpstone (Northants).	( <i>May Day</i> .)
Tibberoughny (Kilkenny).	( <i>May Eve</i> .)

III. "*Thread the Needle*" alone:—

Longbridge Deverell (Wilts).	( <i>Shrove Tuesday</i> .)
Trowbridge (Wilts).	( <i>Shrove Tuesday</i> .)
Evesham (Worcester).	( <i>Easter Monday</i> .)

IV. *Church Clipping* alone:—

Birmingham (Warwick).	( <i>Easter Monday</i> .)
Westbury (Wilts).	( <i>Shrove Tuesday</i> .)
Cradley (Worcester).	( <i>Shrove Tuesday</i> .)
Painswick (Glos).	( <i>Easter Monday</i> .)

In all these instances (for Painswick, see 17 below), both customs occur as spring ceremonies observed at the end of the day's festivities, sometimes not ceasing till nightfall. Women had

special prominence in "Thread the Needle." The streets of the village or town were concerned in every case except Leicester and Tibberoughny,—and also Cradley and Painswick, where the clipping is now under the direction of the Church authorities and is carried out as a semi-religious function.

Details of the ceremonies have now to be considered, in the above order, except that those of a certain geographical area must be set side by side,—viz. a well-defined Wiltshire group of four parishes not far apart on the Somersetshire border. They all, and they alone of the recorded instances, preserved a rhyme connecting the ceremonies with Shrovetide and with the season of ploughing.

1. *Bradford-on-Avon*.—"As soon as the "pancake-bell" rang at eleven A.M., the school children had holiday for the remainder of the day, and when the factories closed for the night, at dusk the boys and girls of the town would run through the streets in long strings playing "Thread the needle," and whooping and hallooing their best as they ran, and so collecting all they could together by seven or eight o'clock, when they would adjourn to the churchyard, where the old sexton had opened the churchyard gates for them; the children would then join hands in a long line until they encompassed the church; they then, with hands still joined, would walk round the church three times; and when dismissed by the old sexton, would return to their homes much pleased that they had "Clipped the Church," and shouting similar lines to"—

"Shrove Tuesday, Shrove Tuesday, when Jack went to plough,  
His mother made pancakes, she didn't know how;  
She tipped them, she tossed them, she made them so black,  
She put so much pepper she poisoned poor Jack."<sup>1</sup>

Pepper is associated with Shrove Tuesday doings in the Isle of Purbeck. The Stonecutters' Guild or Company, after transacting business in the Townhall of Corfe Castle, pay a visit to the old wharf at Owre, present a pound of pepper to the landlord of the

<sup>1</sup> Lady Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England etc.* (1898), vol. ii., pp. 230-1. Local enquiries have added nothing further. "Clip" (to embrace) is in general dialect use. Cf. "Let me clip you in arms." *Coriolanus*, Act I., Sc. vi.

little inn there, and receive a cake from him, after which they play a game of football, "which in connection with this commemoration of the ancient acknowledgment for rent or use of wharfage, is called the 'Pepper Ball.'"<sup>2</sup>

2. *Trowbridge*.—"Thread the Needle" was played by "lads and lasses" on the evening of Shrove Tuesday, and the rhyme sung which is given under Bradford-on-Avon.<sup>3</sup>

3. *Longbridge Deverell*.—"Thread the Needle" is still played all down the street, and the above rhyme sung, on Shrove Tuesday, the only time in the year when boys and girls play together. Some twenty years ago, women joined in the game. On ordinary days, girls play "Thread the Needle" to another rhyme:—

"How many miles to Bethlehem?  
Three score and ten,  
Shall I get there by candlelight?  
Yes, and back again.  
Lift up your gates as high as the sky,  
And let King George and his family pass by."

A third rhyme, said to be used casually, and not at any time when the game is played, is evidently connected with Shrove Tuesday doings:—

"Thread the needle, thread the needle, through the eye, eye, eye, eye;  
Who likes pancakes? I, I, I!"<sup>4</sup>

4. *Westbury*.—Some forty years ago, the church was clipped and the rhyme sung. There is no tradition of "Thread the Needle" or any other game.<sup>5</sup>

5. *South Petherton*.—Early in the last century, "the young folk of both sexes" used to meet on the afternoon or evening of Shrove Tuesday, after eating their pancakes. Starting from the market place, they would "Thread the Needle" through the streets, and then clipped the church.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Quoted from P. Brannon by R. N. Worth, *Tourist's Guide to Dorsetshire*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Lady Gomme, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 230, quoting *N. and Q.* (5th S.), vol. xi., p. 227.

<sup>4</sup>From information given by Mr. J. U. Powell, of Boreham, near Warminster, in 1907.

<sup>5</sup>So Miss D. Shorland, Westbury, who remembers it.

<sup>6</sup>Lady Gomme, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 231.

6. *Wellington (Salop)*.—On Shrove Tuesday, boys and girls played "Thread the Needle," here known as "Crewduck." [Crew is a coop or pen, also used as a verb.] Afterwards they clipped the church. "When the circle was complete, the boys blew a discordant blast upon tin horns." It was continued till about 1854.<sup>7</sup>

7. *Ellesmere*.—"Crewduck" was played before Church Clipping, on Shrove Tuesday, by young men and women as well as by children. "They went up to the 'Green Mount,' the site of the old castle, thence to the church . . . Then they proceeded to the market-hall, which they 'clipped' in like manner."<sup>8</sup>

8. *Kendal*.—Until about 1860, young people used to assemble in the Vicar's fields on Easter Tuesday, and, after spending the afternoon there, returned in procession through the streets, "threading Grandy needles."<sup>9</sup> Grandy needles consisted of a lane of young men on one side and young women on the other; two formed an arch, and the rest went under. The words were:—

"Grandy needles, thread your needles—set! set! set!  
Through the long lobby we go, we go,  
To see the King's horses, Gee O, Gee O!  
Open the gates as wide, as wide,  
To let King George come through with his bride."

At the words "set, set, set," those who held up their hands would bump the others on the shoulders.

On the same day the "Jerring of Pace Eggs" was, (and is still), a great event. Young folks went round a few days before, performed a mummers' play, and begged for eggs, which were boiled and dyed, and on Easter Tuesday were rolled against each other in the Castle Fields, the unbroken eggs being called "Conquerors."

9. *Leicester*.—It was formerly the custom on Shrove Tuesday for lads and lasses to meet in the gallery of the Women's Ward in Trinity Hospital, to play "Thread the Needle" and other games.<sup>10</sup>

The doings at Leicester on Shrove Tuesday formerly included a

<sup>7</sup> Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 322.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321-2.

<sup>9</sup> *N. and Q.* (3rd S.), vol. xii., p. 329 (1863). The rest of the information about Kendal I owe to Mr. G. Rushforth, Parish Clerk.

<sup>10</sup> *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i., p. 114 (Leicestershire and Rutland). In 1907, local enquiries could get no further information on this point.

Fair, throwing at cocks, shinney or hockey, and "Whipping-Toms."<sup>11</sup> The latter custom was put down by the Leicester Improvement Act of 1846; but the people were reluctant to get rid of it, as some tenure was supposed to be maintained by it. Local tradition also said that it was done to commemorate the expulsion of the Danes from Leicester, on Hoke Day, A.D. 1002.

"Whipping-Toms" began at one o'clock. Two, three, or more men, armed with cart-whips, and with a handkerchief tied over one eye, were let loose upon the people to flog anyone within the precincts of the Newark, a bellman giving the signal for the attack. They were not by custom allowed to whip above the knee, and anyone kneeling down was spared.<sup>12</sup> The Newark, just outside the old city walls, is an open space round which stand the Collegiate Church, the houses of the Canons, Trinity Hospital (the scene of "Thread the Needle") founded as an almshouse in 1330, and the Castle View, on the northward side of the Castle. The Newark was until recent times extra-parochial, and was in the liberties which extended half a mile round the town;<sup>13</sup> it lay therefore between the city walls and St. Mary's Field on the southwest of the city.

10. *Minchinhampton*.—"Thread the Needle" was played through the streets at dusk on Easter Monday, until about thirty-five years ago. People of all ages took part in it, and one old woman was always sought out to begin the game. They started from the gates of the Park formerly attached to the Manor House; the afternoon and evening had been spent in this Park, many games being played, three of which were peculiar to Easter Monday. These three were:

(a) "Jumping Bushes." Each girl took with her to the Park three sticks, specially cut, then set them up like a cat-gallows and jumped over them.

(b) "Bundle of Matches," a winding-up game in which at the end everyone jumped up and down crying,—*"A bundle of matches!"*

(c) "Crooked Mustard," a serpentine game played by girls only, winding in a long string in and out between three of their

<sup>11</sup> W. Hone, *The Year Book*, p. 270.

<sup>12</sup> J. Throsby, *The History etc. of Leicester etc.* (1791), p. 356.

<sup>13</sup> Sir L. Gomme, *Governance of London* (1907), p. 223.

number seated on the ground, or between three trees. "Crooked Mustard" was always the last game played before the people went into the street for Thread the Needle.<sup>14</sup>

11. *Nassington*.—On May Day, garlands were carried about and afterwards fastened from chimney to chimney across the street. Married women then played "Thread the Needle," (here called "Duck under the Water"), down the street. Here there was a meadow with right of pasture, where cows were turned out on May Day. Lads watched through the night and the dawning; a rail was put across the entrance to the meadow, and the first cow to go in was led round the village crowned with ribbons; the last cow was crowned with nettles, elder, and thistles, and the milkmaid was jeered at.<sup>15</sup>

12. *Helpstone*.<sup>16</sup>—"Duck under the Water" was here, too, played on May Day, under the garland suspended across the street. Balls were also thrown through the framework of the garland.

13. *Tibberoughny*.—"The long dance . . . was in times past performed . . . at the celebrated moat of Tibberoughny, near Piltown. The assemblage—consisting of the bearers of the May bush, the dancers, musicians, and spectators—entered the moat at the south-western gap, circumambulated the outer entrenchment several times, ascended the lofty mound . . . placed the emblem of summer on the summit, and commenced the revels. The May bush, or May pole, was here adorned with those golden balls provided by the beauties married in the neighbourhood at the preceding Shrovetide. . . . The great summer bonfire was afterwards lighted in the centre of this fort or rath."<sup>17</sup>

14. *Evesham*.—"Thread the Needle" was played through the streets at sunset on Easter Monday, to the words:—

"Open the gates as high as the sky,  
And let Victoria's troops pass by."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Information gathered from oral sources.

<sup>15</sup> A. E. Baker, *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words etc.* (1854), s.v. *Duck under the Water*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Sir W. R. W. Wilde, *Irish Popular Superstitions* (circ. 1850), pp. 69-70.

<sup>18</sup> Lady Gomme, *The Traditional Games etc.* vol. ii., p. 231, quoting May, *History of Evesham*, p. 319.

A native of Evesham adds that the game was led by the old men and women, followed by younger folks and lastly by the children.<sup>19</sup>

15. *Birmingham*.—On Easter Monday, the children made a ring, hand in hand, with their backs to the church; then they went in procession to the other church, and clipped that in the same way. The custom was obsolete a century or more ago.<sup>20</sup>

16. *Cradley*.—The church is still clipped on Shrove Tuesday, at noon, by the school girls. Traditions of the custom go back for over eighty years; but, as it has been for years carried on under clerical supervision, there are no games. The children stand with their backs to the church.<sup>21</sup>

17. *Painswick*.—The church is now clipped by the school children, (boys and girls), on the afternoon of the Feast Sunday, (Sunday after Sept. 19th); but there are local traditions connecting the ceremony with Easter Monday. When the ring is formed, the children shuffle slowly round the church. No recollection remains of any other ceremonies performed on the same day.<sup>14</sup>

At Baverstock (Wilts), "Thread the Needle" was played sixty years ago, whether on one special day I cannot ascertain. The rhyme used there suggests a courting game:—

"Thread the needle, thread the needle, who am I?

One, two, three, if you want a pretty girl, come and fetch me."

I have been told, vaguely, that in some parishes of Somerset and Dorset it was the custom formerly to "clip" the yew-tree, and that at Sandford Orcas (Somerset) the yew-tree was "clipped" at the coronation of George III. No definite evidence has been forthcoming from this district, but at Appleton (Cheshire) a thorn-tree was "clipped" and "bawmed" (*i.e.* dressed up with ribbons etc.) annually on St. Peter's Day.<sup>22</sup>

J. B. PARTRIDGE.

<sup>19</sup> So Mrs. H. Martin, Evesham.

<sup>20</sup> Hone, *The Every-Day Book*, vol. i., p. 216.

<sup>21</sup> *Church Evangelist*, March 9, 1906.

<sup>22</sup> So Rev. F. E. Evans, Appleton.



A FOLKLORE SURVEY OF COUNTY CLARE (*concluded*).XX. *Earthworks and Buildings.*

FAIRY forts and mounds have been dealt with in Section iv., haunted houses in Section viii., and foundation sacrifices in Section xi.

*Forts.*—The ring walls and mounds in County Clare are probably residential, or, more rarely, sepulchral, but certainly not military. They consist of one or more walls (or banks), usually slightly oval, and the earthworks have fosses and traces of stone facing. They are named *dun*, *lis*, *rath*, and even *caher* (*cathair*), but the last name is usually reserved for the dry stone ring walls. *Ooan* (*uamh*) is used both for forts and for artificial caves in them, and also, for a fort-souterain, in 1317 in the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* (History of the Wars of the O'Briens and de Clares). The country people have no limited views as to the makers of the 2400 forts in Clare. Croaghateeaun near Ballinalacken is attributed to the ancient deities, the Danánn, and one should cross oneself in entering its garth.<sup>1</sup> Mohernagartan and Mohernaglasha were made by the smith god Lon,—the latter for the grey “cloud and rain cow,” the Glas. Oisín the poet lived in Caherussheen near Corofin, and the great stone fort on Turlough Hill probably belonged to the “Irish Militia” (Finn’s warriors). Chonan, one of Finn’s men, dwelt in the now levelled fort on Keentlae (*ceann tsleibh*) on Inchiquin Hill.<sup>2</sup> Three contemporaries, Crochaun (lumped hill), Dahlin, and Sall (the brine), made the forts bearing their names at Loop Head, and one at Cahernaheanmná near them for their sister the beloved of the hero Dermot O’Duine.<sup>3</sup> Oircheannaigh “of the golden cap” made the vast triple Moghane for his “fighting ring.”<sup>4</sup> A giant dwelt in the promontory fort of Doonaunmore at Ballinahown who lost his magic staff and was

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> “*Feis tighe chonain*.”

<sup>3</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxviii., p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii., p. 281; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii., pp. 218 *et seq.*

slain.<sup>5</sup> Another Fhir mór (or huge man) was hunted from Cahermurphy stone fort to Kiltumper, where he was slain and buried.<sup>6</sup> Caherdooneerish was in the tenth century reputed to have been made by Irgus, a Firbolg, at the beginning of our era; it was wrongly attributed by scholars to Fergus, son of Roigh, but the peasantry never abandoned the name of the brother of Aenghus of Dun Aengusa in Aran.

Unlike some old schools of antiquaries, the people did not overlook the later origin of some forts, for they attributed the Grianan and Bealboruma to King Brian Boru (c. 1000), the former to defend his horse-paddock (*parc an each*) on the shoulder of Craglea. The fort of Lisnagry, in the heart of the hills near Broadford, was reputed to be the hiding-place of the great king's cattle from the Danes. King Croohooire (Conor) na Siudaine O'Brien (slain 1267) was said to have built Dunconor, the great stone fort in Inishere Aran which MacLiag's poem (c. 1000) attributes to Conchraid the Firbolg. The same king, we may note, executed the latest earthworks of a fort recorded in Clare history, at Clonroad, completing the royal *rath* commenced by his father and left unfinished in 1241. Some rebuilding of Dun Conor may quite conceivably have been undertaken in his reign.

To the fairy forts previously mentioned should be added Lissateeaun, near Lisdoonvarna. The people of Tulla had an observance by which the instigator of the destruction of a fort assumed the blame and freed the workman.

*Churches.*—The church of Clonlea once stood at the opposite side of the lake, near St. Senan's well in Killaneena, whence one night it travelled down the old lane that runs into the lake, passed under the water, and reached its present site. King Conor na Siudaine built Corcomroe Abbey, and, as soon as his five skilled masons had completed the beautiful chancel and chapels, he put them to death lest they should build a rival masterpiece elsewhere. This legend is now being transferred through modern guide-books, the careless compilation of which is a great source of corruption of our legends, to Donald O'Brien, the actual, but not traditional,

<sup>5</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., p. 346.

<sup>6</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 205.

founder of the building, and is held to explain the rude and inferior work of parts of it. Quin "Abbey" was built by the famous Master Mason Gobbán Saor, who twisted the spiral pillars of its beautiful cloister with his own hands. The builder of the south transept (1433) fell from its gable, and was killed where a tombstone with the scribed figure of an axe marks his grave. The north-west corner of Carran church overhangs, and is destined to fall on the wisest man that shall pass below it.

*Castles.*—A belief similar to that about Carran church was attached to Ballymulcassel or Mountcashel castle. It is a peel tower, built by King Conor na Srona, about 1460, on a steep little knoll of rock beside the road from Sixmilebridge to Kilkishen. It was to fall on the handsomest person, and gossip told of a very ugly man who always took a longer road to avoid passing it. The same legend and gossip was attached to Newcastle peel tower, near Limerick and not far from the border of Clare. A wizard who lived in Shalee castle was so pestered by his wife that he flew away with half the tower, which remains as Glen castle near Ennistymon station. A guest praised Dysert castle to its owner, O'Dea, and wished that it were full of gold. "I'd rather have it full of O'Hiumhairs," replied O'Dea,<sup>7</sup> the family so complimented being a small but warlike clan, of which one member fought in the wars of 1313-8 and is reported to have slain Richard de Clare at Dysert in 1318. I heard in 1869 that the castles near Doonass were built by seven brothers, and that six came to an untimely end at the hands of the seventh, but the legend seems now forgotten at Clonlara.

*Round Towers.*—The peasants seem never to have adopted the various druidic, Cuthite, phallic, and other theories of 1770 onwards from the so-called "educated classes." To them, as to our earlier writers, the towers are steeples built by saints. John Lloyd, in 1780,<sup>8</sup> calls that of Scatterry "the loftiest old Steeple in the Kingdom." Michael O'Brannan, in 1794,<sup>9</sup> tells how St.

<sup>7</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 157. The tale closely resembles a legend of St. Caimin of Iniscaltra and Guaire Aidhne at Iniscaltra, Lough Derg.

<sup>8</sup> *A Short Tour etc.*, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Poem on Shannon, *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., pp. 15-8.

Senan "built seven churches and a beautiful high belfry" there, and how "St. Caimin, a vigorous chieftain, erected seven churches and a high belfry" on Lough Derg. Legend told that St. Senan, while building his tower, was interrupted by a woman, and left it unfinished.<sup>10</sup> St. Blawfugh (Blathmac) built two towers at Rathblamac, one of which was stolen and brought to Dysert O'Dea by St. Manawla. Of the bells of Dromcliff and Kilnaboy towers I have already told.<sup>11</sup> Kilnaboy tower was broken down by "the bombardment of Cromwell." The round tower at Tomgraney was faintly remembered, in Petrie's time, as like that on Iniscaltra, but it has long since been forgotten.

*Crosses and monuments.*—I have already mentioned the cross of Dysert O'Dea,<sup>12</sup> which was unusual in having portions of its carvings on separate pieces of stone, some of which are lost. The cross fell twice, and was re-erected by Conor Crone O'Dea in 1683 and by Col. Synge of Mount Callan in 1872; each benefactor died in the year following his restoration of the cross. The breaking off or fall of any portion of the monument of Sir Donal O'Brien, the first of the baronets of Dromoland, in Kilnasoolagh church, is fatal to his descendants, and so is any attempt to clean or repair it, tradition alleging that one of the O'Briens always dies in either case.<sup>13</sup> My own family believed that, if the family vault were opened, it had soon to be opened twice again to receive new occupants.

*Underground passages.*—One is said to lead from Cahercrochaun to Dundahlin on Loop Head, and another from the great promontory fort of Dundoillroe eastwards, where a brown track, probably an old road, still remains. A third ran through Barnagosaigh to the Tuamnagoskaigh in Ballynahown, near Lisdoonvarna, where there is a roofed cleft of some length. A fourth went from Bealboruma fort under the Shannon; through it the angry Brian Boru sent soldiers to waylay and kill his slandered

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18. The same tale is told of St. Declan and the beautiful perfect round tower of Ardmore, County Waterford.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 336; *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. xxii., pp. 57, 456.

<sup>13</sup> The fall of an angel not long before the death of the late Lord Inchiquin greatly strengthened the belief.

son-in-law the King of Leinster. Others connected Killone with Clare Abbey, and Quin Abbey with St. Finghin's church at the other side of the "Rine."

### XXI. *Miscellanea and Addenda.*

*Treasure legends and hunting.*—Many forts have been much defaced by persons seeking treasure, though treasure legends are few. Caherscrebeen, near Lemeneagh castle (the Caherscribnib of 1551),<sup>14</sup> is said to be the richest fort in Ireland, having three rooms full respectively "of gold, deer's tallow, and *beor lochlanagh*" or Dane's beer (made by a lost recipe from heather and "the finest of all drinks").<sup>15</sup> Treasure-hunting is, so far as I have learned, in nearly every case in consequence of a dream, especially of a dream repeated more than once. No particular ceremony seems to have been used. The dreamer went, usually by night and sometimes alone or sometimes with a few friends, to the spot indicated, and dug until tired and hope of success was lost. Most of the damage done to stone forts and castles results, in the former from rabbit hunters, and in the latter from people getting material for other buildings. Silver (money) is believed to be buried in the mound of Lisméhane castle, and near the curiously scribed rock of Cloch-an-airgid (rock of the silver) near Bohneill castle. I have seen in the field within Dunlicka castle,<sup>16</sup> near Kilkee, the holes made by a seeker who was told to dig where he saw a rush growing. "The great Clare gold find" in 1845, near Moghane fort, enriched archaeology rather than folklore. But the finders in some cases believed it to be fairy gold, and the people of Newmarket-on-Fergus tell that those who got it, with one exception, did not profit by it; the one lucky exception did not find his prosperity permanent. The only interesting treasure tale I have found is that of the townland of Skaghvickencrow (MacEnchroe's hawthorn), told by Dr. G. U.

<sup>14</sup> In the will of the last recognised King of Thomond, Murrough, Earl of Thomond.

<sup>15</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxvi., p. 368.

<sup>16</sup> See also vol. xxi., p. 344.

MacNamara.<sup>17</sup> A certain Flann MacDonnchaidh, a very poor man, lived near the bush long ago, and dreamt "again and again" that, if he went to the Bald Bridge, Droichiod maol-na-Luimneagh (Ball's Bridge in Limerick City), he would find money and make his fortune. He went there and walked up and down until he was worn out. He was on the point of going away when a cobbler asked him what he was about, and he told his story. The cobbler laughed, and told how he himself had dreamed of finding treasure under a bush at a place called Skaghvickencrow, but had wasted no time in looking for it.<sup>18</sup> MacDonnchaidh returned home, dug, and found a flag with an inscription in an unknown tongue. He left the stone on his hearth, and, as no local scholar could read it, he troubled no more about the matter. Years went by, and one night a wandering schoolmaster asked for hospitality, and of course got it. The "angel unawares" translated the inscription as "one side is more lucky than the other." Next day, when his guest was gone, MacDonnchaidh dug, and found so much money as to make rich men of himself and his descendants.<sup>19</sup>

The only tale of church treasure I have met with is that the silver bells of either Killeany or Kilmoon church lie hidden in the brook between their ruins called from the legend Owenacluggan.

*Funerals and graveyards.*—Though I have frequently attended funerals of persons of all classes and denominations in many parts of Clare, I have very little to tell of the ceremonies. Sometimes I have seen spades crossed on a grave, and long ago saw three crosses, made of twigs from a hawthorn tree in a graveyard, placed on a coffin. The body is usually carried feet foremost round the graveyard sunwise, and sometimes, but rarely, three times. The horrible habit of digging out all the contents of the grave is usual; the older coffin planks are thrown away, and the human remains

<sup>17</sup> *The Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, Part 4, p. 42.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the well-known story of the Swaffham tinker and London Bridge.

<sup>19</sup> I heard this tale, perhaps in 1870, from John O'Halloran at Edenvale near Ennis, about the Crowes. Certainly that family (MacEnchroe's) has a hawthorn bush in its armorial bearings, and the motto "Skagh M'Enchroe." Dr. MacNamara conjectures that Flann's surname was really MacEnchroe.

placed on the new coffin. Where burials take place at short intervals the results are best left untold, but such cases are rare. A consequence of this fearful overcrowding is that no old graveyard is free from coffin planks and plates, bones, and fragmentary or whole skulls.<sup>20</sup> Those who saw Quin "Abbey" before 1879 will remember the enormous heap of skulls, (even then, however, much diminished), heaped round a tree near the graveyard gate. At Tomfinlough the bones and skulls were neatly stacked in a recess, at Kilmacreehy they were heaped on a sort of side altar in the chancel, and in other churches (Coad etc.) I have seen single skulls staring out of holes in the wall.

Places for the burial of strangers and unbaptized children are common, and are usually *killeens*, old forgotten church sites, sometimes in a fort, sometimes at a well, or unenclosed in a field.<sup>21</sup> Those at Kilquane, near Ennis; Fomerla, near Tulla; Kyleeáine, near Barefield (with Doughnambraher stone); and Kilvoydane, near Spansil Hill, have basin stones. Some *killeens*, such as that between the forts of Mortyclogh, near Corcomroe Abbey, and that at Fortanne, have crept back into favour for adult burial, but several ancient churches at which bones are found have not been so used in traditional memory (*e.g.* Toomullin, Crumlin, Killonaghan, and Kilbract, round Lisdoonvarna; Templeline, in Carran; Temple-an-aird, near Carrigaholt; St. Senan's, on Mutton Island; Temple aed O'Connell, near Ruan; and several churches on Scatterry and Iniscaltra). The church of Kilcashen was not remembered to have been a burial place before Eugene O'Curry's grandfather, Melachein O'Curry, in a pestilence about 1760, charitably collected the deserted unburied corpses "on carts and sledges," and buried them at the ruin on his farm.<sup>22</sup> Bodies were similarly buried during the Great Famine at the Lisheen, near Lough Fergus. Oughtdarra, near Lisdoonvarna, has the remains of a church of St. Sinnach MacDara,<sup>23</sup> where children under seven

<sup>20</sup> See also vol. xxii., p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> For a list, with notes, see *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vi., ser. iii., p. 129.

<sup>22</sup> Kilcashen, *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 369.

<sup>23</sup> A saint famous all round Galway Bay, but not found in the ancient Calendars. Some suppose him to be a Fox Hero, *i.e.* Sinnach mac Dara, Fox

years of age are buried; after that age bodies are taken to the parish graveyard at Killilagh. In Shanakill, on the Shannon bank opposite Scatterry, it was believed that the dead were moved supernaturally under the river into the Sacred Isle.<sup>24</sup>

I know of a case in eastern Clare where parents, having lost several of their children, tried to break the deadly record by changing their burial place, but, alas! without success.

I am not aware of any belief in Clare that the spirit of the last-comer in a graveyard has to watch the place or to bring water to the souls in Purgatory. There was, however, recently a race between two funerals to Rathblamac graveyard, which may imply some such belief. The custom of burying a stone from a church or an ancient tombstone in a new grave, (which has led to the disappearance of several early monuments at Clonmacnoise), prevails at Tomgraney, two ancient tombstones having recently been recovered on digging new graves. As we have already seen,<sup>25</sup> St. Mochulla's well avenged the encroachment of its landlord on the *killeen* beside it, but the graveyards of Kildimo, near Kilkee, and St. Catherine's at Kells, near Corofin, are under cultivation. Dr. MacNamara noted a curious allusion to the last-named in O'Daly's fierce satire on "The Tribes of Ireland" in 1610. The people of Kells are there reproached for "digging the churchyard in the snow." The oldest Irish Law Code, the *Seanchus Mór*, has a clause against digging in a churchyard or breaking bones there. Kildimo was levelled, and its site included in an orchard by 1816.<sup>26</sup> Interference with human remains is deeply and dangerously resented, yet spells are sometimes worked with them.<sup>27</sup> The stealing of a dead man's hand for a butter charm is said to have taken place near Kilkee,<sup>28</sup> and the bones of a Franciscan with the brown cloth of his gown still adhering, found during the repairs at Ennis Abbey, were nearly all taken, but probably from most reverential motives.

son of oak tree. There is a Knockaunatinagh (little hill of the foxes) beside his church.

<sup>24</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xviii. (1841), p. 545.

<sup>25</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 211.

<sup>26</sup> W. G. Mason, *A Statistical Account etc.*, vol. ii., p. 434.

<sup>27</sup> See *Burial and Skull Beliefs*, vol. xxii., pp. 55-6, 456.

<sup>28</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 340.



*Charms.*<sup>29</sup>—The charming of rats, which was described by Eugene O'Curry to Dr. J. Henthorne Todd, seems to have been forgotten in the Doonaha district, where, at least, I never heard of it during several visits in the neighbourhood from 1896. The performance is ancient, being described after A.D. 600 by the famous bard Seanchan Torpeist, a contemporary of King Guaire Aidhne of Gort, who ruled the district adjoining Clare on the north from about A.D. 610. O'Curry's story is that a certain John O'Mulconry joined the Established Church, and was ordained, being eventually advanced to be curate of Kilrush and Kilfieragh in the south-west corner of Clare. Now Kilfieragh graveyard was so horribly infested by rats that serious accidents occurred at every burial (I presume from their attacks), and every corpse buried there was entirely devoured by the following morning. The curate, horrified by the scenes he witnessed at a burial, proceeded to charm the rats, as the country folk firmly believed him able to do from his knowledge of old Irish literature. A certain John Foley, of Querin on the Shannon, saw that evening what looked like a bank of low-lying fog crossing a bog between him and Kilfieragh. He fancied it was the fairy host, and ran to one side, when he saw it was a compact body of rats. They went through his cornfield, without stopping, to Querin point, then burrowing into the dry sand and disappearing. They soon proved as destructive as ever, gnawing the fishermen's nets and boats (probably leather *currachs*). The sufferers gathered a great number of neighbours, amongst whom was Owen Mór O'Curry, the writer's father, and proceeded to dig out and kill the vermin. An incredible number were slain, but the survivors seemed innumerable, and in the end, with the courage of despair, attacked the slayers, trying to run up their clothes and bite them. Wearied and terrified at the swarms, the peasantry at last gave up the fight and fled. Eugene O'Curry never heard what became of the remnant of the rats.

Thomas O'Keane, a land surveyor, told O'Curry in 1820 that he knew and used an ancient satirical poem to expel rats, and that he had successfully driven out all that infested his house and mill at Bealahaglas, near Dunlicka Castle. The charm was in archaic and enigmatical Irish. Fired by emulation, young O'Curry

<sup>29</sup> Addenda to Section xi., vol. xxii., pp. 49-60.

wrote a satire against the rats, and tried it on an infested house at Kilkee, in the same year, but without success.

About the same time certain men in Limerick City were famous for being able to free ships in that port from rats. Their method was to fix a razor, edge upwards, on the ship, and by their charms to force the rats to cut their throats on it.<sup>30</sup>

Dr. G. U. MacNamara tells me that Denis Curtis near Corofin cures liver complaints, bleeding, and cows that have swallowed raw potatoes. He puts his human patients on their backs on his anvil, and pretends to strike them with a sledge hammer. This is done on three occasions, on two Mondays and a Thursday. The patients then drink forge water. All the family have the gift of healing, but only one exercises it. The family legend says that St. Patrick's horse lost a shoe near Kilnaboy, and their ancestor shod it gratuitously. The saint therefore endowed the family with the power, and people even return from America to be cured by the smith.

*Marriage tabu.*—In eastern Clare, a newly-married woman attended Mass on the Sunday next after her marriage, and was severely criticised for doing so. Local opinion held that she and her husband ought not to attend public worship until the second Sunday after the marriage.<sup>31</sup>

*Púcas.*<sup>32</sup>—A recent apparition of the *púca* of Clonlara was described to me in 1911 as a dark, shadowy horse near the bridge over the Blackwater, about two miles to the south-west of the village. My nephew, Dr. Hugh Gerald Westropp, heard of similar appearances about 1888.

*Lucky and unlucky deeds.*<sup>33</sup>—The *geasa* and *buadha*, or tabus and lucky acts, relating to the present County Clare are described in the *Leabhar na g Ceart* (Book of Rights),<sup>34</sup> in a poem by Cuan na

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v., ser. iii., p. 362.

<sup>31</sup> I learn from a Petty Sessions case, March, 1911, at Derrygonnelly, that this custom prevails also in Fermanagh, and that friends and relatives do not visit the young couple in the interim, but entertain them on the second Sunday.

<sup>32</sup> Addendum to vol. xxi., p. 481.

<sup>33</sup> Addendum to section xii., *Lucky and Unlucky Deeds*, vol. xxii., pp. 203-4.

<sup>34</sup> Edited by John O'Donovan, 1847, pp. 16-21.

Leochain, who was slain in 1024. The King of Cashel (over-king, therefore, of North Munster) was forbidden to pass a night at Latteragh in northern Tipperary at the beginning of harvest; to encamp for nine consecutive nights at the river Suir; to hold a border meeting at Gowran; and to listen to the groans of women (in a raid) in southern Tipperary. The King of Connacht was not to go in a speckled cloak,—the prose adds “on a piebald horse,”—to the heath of Luchaid in Clare. On the other hand, the ruler of Cashel brought good luck by plundering cattle in Connacht while the cuckoo sings; burning north Leinster; passing over Sliabh Cua,—“on a Tuesday,” says the prose,—to pacify south Munster; crossing Magh Ailbhe with a light grey host; and resting six weeks (of Lent) every year at Cashel. It was most unlucky for him to wait for a feast at Killarney Lake for a full week from a Monday. At the present day some families still have their own tabus, lucky and lucky deeds and days, dreams, and omens, which sometimes even run counter to beliefs generally received,—e.g. that the Friday falling on the thirteenth of any month, or to dream of a wild cat or other wild animal, is lucky.

*Witch hare.*<sup>35</sup>—Anthony Bruodin (*Bruodinus* or *Prodinus*), a Franciscan of Quin Abbey, tells in *Corolla Oecodemicæ Minoriticæ* (Prague, 1664, p. 73) how his uncle (*patruus*), Florence of Moynaeo (Moynoe on Lough Derg) went out at the dawn of the first of May with his eldest son Bonaventura, (who died in Spain in 1643), and with their hounds to hunt hares. At last the servants saw one sucking a cow. The hounds chased it, biting it as it escaped, into a cottage, where an old woman was found torn behind.

*Glasgeivnagh cow.*<sup>36</sup>—Vague legends are told of her living at Treanahow, Shallee, and Ballygannon.

*Ghosts or fairy men.*—Mary (Mescal) Doyle, of Newmarket-on-Fergus, tells how she saw two ghostly men in black walking on a road near that village.

*Stolen bride.*—A legend of a stolen bride at Querin on the Shannon is told in Lady Wilde's *Ancient Legends etc. of Ireland* (1887), vol. i., p. 49.

<sup>35</sup> Addendum to vol. xxii. p. 449.

<sup>36</sup> Addendum to p. 89 *supra*.

In concluding this survey of the traditional beliefs (other than folk-tales) of County Clare, I am quite prepared to learn that I have failed to secure much that is well known to residents in the county. Even my mistakes and omissions, if they lead the people of Clare to abandon their apathy and to correct and supply the deficiencies of my notes, will have helped on the cause of Irish folklore study, and much that is on the point of being forgotten may be rescued for scientific workers on that most important and fascinating subject.<sup>37</sup>

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

<sup>37</sup> *Additional Erratum*, vol. xii., p. 54. For Terry Island read Torry Island.

#### CUSTOMS AT DEATH ON THE LOWER CONGO.

THE following notes are additions to those already published in *Folk-Lore*<sup>1</sup> concerning burial, mourning, and other customs and beliefs connected with death on the Lower Congo.

*Burial fees.*—The fee for digging a grave is a fowl for each person. If a visitor dies in a town, his people have to pay a pig for the right of burial. If the corpse is taken away, a pig must be paid to the people of every town through which it is carried. This has the effect of reducing the risks of catching infectious diseases, as the bearers, to avoid such heavy fees, will take a body to its native town by wide détours instead of over the usual paths. The body is, however, allowed to pass free if it is that of a man killed by a wild animal, or of a woman dead in childbirth.

*Purification.*—Those who dig a grave must go straight to running water and wash themselves all over. Those who touch a corpse must wash their hands and arms. Those who have dug a grave or touched a corpse cross their outstretched arms until they have washed. With this sign that they are unclean, no one will want to salute them or to shake hands.

*Chiefs' funerals; property put in graves.*—When a chief died in French Congo in November, 1908, his coffin, made by a native carpenter of my acquaintance, measured 12 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in., and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xix., pp. 415-6, 421-3, 428-31; vol. xx., pp. 52, 55-6, 58-61, 465, 475.

was 4 ft. deep. As he had no heirs all his goods and property, except enough to pay his funeral expenses, were heaped upon the body. A native brickmaker and bricklayer had an order for 3000 bricks to build a vault and floor the grave. The flooring is intended to avert the sinking of the body into the earth, which is thought to have happened when the earth sinks on a grave.

Makitu, chief of the district around Wathen, died and was buried in 1898. His coffin rested on three pieces of ivory cut from a tusk which he had saved for years for this purpose. One loaded gun was buried with him, so that, when he arrived in the "spirit forest," he could shoot the spirit of the *ndoki* (witch) who had brought him to his death. They intended to bury two women and one man alive in his grave, but this was prevented by missionaries; it is still uncertain, nevertheless, whether one woman, who was missed about the time of the funeral, was not actually buried with the corpse. As regards ivory put in a grave, it is the native belief that only the *evuvu*, or shell, is left of it. If any person removed the ivory and succeeded in selling it, he would be alleged to be a witch, since he was able to convert the *evuvu* into real ivory. Similarly, if a person took a plate or a bottle from a grave and was able to use it, this would be regarded as an undeniable proof that he was a witch. Such a thief would in the old days have been killed, and his or her blood poured on the grave to appease the robbed and wrathful spirit.

*Compensation to family for deaths.*—A man living at Nkondo, a village near Wathen, was very ill, near to death in fact, and did not desire to leave his property (trade goods, guns, gunpowder, etc.) to his relatives. So he made up his mind to burn down the house containing the goods. He waited for an opportunity, and one night, when five persons;—three adults and two children,—were sleeping in the house, he locked the door, set fire to the structure, and rolled himself in his blankets to await death. Only one man escaped. The family of the two children demanded, and received, compensation for their death from the suicide's family.

*Sacrifices on graves.*—In olden times slaves were killed, and their blood poured on the grave of their master. In the early days of the Congo Free State, an officer arrived and stopped for

the night at a town called Z—, near Kimpese, and saw the funeral of the late chief of the town, at which a native band played. The officer wanted the band's ivory trumpets, and attempted to take them by force. The people resisted, and tied him up. Some desired to kill him and pour his blood over the new grave, but, fortunately for him, others would not agree to this. As a compromise, they shaved off his hair, eyebrows, and beard, and let him go. He never knew how narrowly he had escaped sacrifice on a native chief's grave.

*Future life and abode.*—The sun was the place of punishment for bad people. When natives want to punish a child they put it out in the strong sun, and men and women were often tied in the scorching sunshine as a penalty for wrong-doing. The moon was supposed to be the place where good people talked (*moka*) with God. They believed that after death there was a *mavambu manjila*, or dividing of the roads, one road leading to the sun, and the other to the moon. The bad people always went the former road, and the good people the latter one. When they see a halo round the sun, they say the *mbaji a nkanu*, or judgment court, is being held there, and the punishment is being confirmed (*siki-diswa*). When a circle is seen round the moon, the *mbaji a nkanu* is being held there, and the reward is being confirmed to the good, so that the family which buries a relative about that time is very happy.<sup>2</sup> There is a native proverb that indicates that punishment in the sun does not kill:—"The bad are tormented like a locust on burning grass. It wants to die but cannot die; it wants to be saved, but cannot be saved." This figure of speech is taken from seeing the locusts, when the bush is burning, jumping from stem to stem of the grass in the smoke.

It will be observed that the sun and moon theory as to the places of punishment and reward is opposed to their belief concerning the great spirit town in the forest so fully described in a previous paper. I am inclined to think that the sun and moon theory may be a corruption of the old Roman Catholic teaching on purgatory etc., and that the spirit town in the forest<sup>3</sup> is the original native belief. Sometimes a curious mixture of both ideas will be found. For example, if there is, as often happens, no halo round either

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xx., p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xx., p. 55.

sun or moon for weeks, the persons buried during that period are looked on as neither very bad nor very good, and, therefore, to have gone, not to the sun or moon, but to the spirit town in the great forest.

J. H. WEEKS.

#### FOLKLORE SCRAPS FROM GREECE AND ASIA MINOR.

*Beetle belief.*—In the island of Melos a small black beetle is much feared. It is about half an inch long, and its bite is said to be deadly, killing almost instantaneously. In the course of the excavations of the British School in the spring of 1911, two were met with, causing on each occasion great excitement. After pick-axes and shovels had done their worst, there remained, unfortunately, so little of the creature that it was impossible to examine a specimen.

*"Forty" as place-name.*—In many parts of Greece, (and I believe that the same is true of Turkey), the place-name "Saranda" (Forty) is to be met with. "Forty whats?" you ask, and are told,—"The name is just Forty." Now, in Greek and Turkish folk-tales δράκοι (*dhraki*)—(not 'dragons,' by the way, but 'ogres'; I have noticed that some European folklorists have been misled by Hahn's translation *Drache*),—*devs*, and robbers live in gangs of forty, and the castle of the forty *devs*, robbers, or δράκοι, is a very common feature of many of the tales. When travelling through the Cnidian peninsula with Mr. Dawkins in January, 1911, we came to a large, round tomb built of squared stones about two and a half hours' journey east of Knidos. On enquiry we learned that the place was called *Saranda*. It occurred to me that here was a possible explanation of the name. The tomb was the castle of the forty robbers or *devs*. The suspicion is partially confirmed by a reference I found subsequently in *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, par E. Henry Carnoy et Jean Nicolaidès, (*Les Littératures Populaires de toutes les Nations*, vol. xxviii., p. 357), where tradition definitely states that the "Caves of the Forty" near Judje Su in Cappadocia are so called for the reason which I suggest is the explanation of the frequent occurrence elsewhere of *Saranda* as a place name.

*Rite at saint's tomb.*—At Axó or Hasákeui, in the plain of Cappadocia, is the tomb of St. Makrina, sister of Gregory Theológos. It is a marble structure with a gable top. We were directed to walk round it three times *widdershins*. In the event of meeting robbers a small vow to the Saint would preserve our property. I find the tomb mentioned in the work quoted above, p. 204, where it is stated that the tomb is a cenotaph, that incubation is practised at it, and that those who make a vow and do not pay it are unable to walk round the tomb.

*Wells and springs.*—Below the church, in which the above tomb stands, down a steep stair in one of those burrows in the rock which are so common in the plains of Cappadocia, is an *ἅγισμα*, or sacred spring. The rock is porous, and the water filters freely through it into small basins cut in the side. It once flowed at a point higher up in this underground passage, and the dry basin is there to testify. A woman turned Moslem and came and washed her baby in it; the holy water thus defiled miraculously ceased, but reappeared in its present basins lower down<sup>1</sup> (July 9, 1911).

At Stróvitsi in the Peloponnese, near the site of the ancient Lepreum, is a spring which is said to have aphrodisiac properties when drunk by men. My informant was Παναγιώτης Ζαρυφόβολος, a native of the neighbouring village of Zourtsa, and by profession a muleteer (Feb. 17, 1911).

In the island of Melos, in the hills south of Palaiochóra, is said to be a salt well much used by women and of great medicinal value in all feminine diseases according to our muleteer (Nov. 27, 1910).

Near Phárasa, a village in the Taurus, is the spring of St. Chrysostom, which is said to flow from the Saint's eyes. When a wicked man approaches it, it dries up. When I visited it, it was pouring out of the hillside and falling in large waterfalls. The water was clear, but slightly oily in appearance. I could see steps underneath the stream leading into the hole from which it flowed, and my guide, a boy of the village called Χρίστος, told me that, if the water was not flowing, you could go down thirty steps into a cavern where a mysterious "Boom Boom" was incessantly audible. About 100 yards from the spring was a small chapel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., pp. 211-2, (Clare).



We went first to that and lit the candles, with which our host the priest had insisted on providing me, and then to the spring, where two more candles were lighted. To the fact that I had not taken the opportunity of bathing in the spring the priest attributed a heat rash which punished me on the following day (July 24, 1911).

*Sacred tree.*—At the same village is a sacred tree called "Αγία Παρασκευή (St. Friday), covered with the rags of votaries. A rude altar and rough apse of stones and twigs have been constructed to the east of the tree, and the priest "reads" there once a year at Easter (July 23, 1911).

*Cure of lunatics.*—The Rev. T. F. Barker of the American Melonite Mission, whose hospitality we enjoyed at Everek, described an interesting holy place at Sipán Deré. Misled by the map, we found it two days instead of a few hours off our route, and were unfortunately prevented from visiting it; it lies in the Taurus somewhere between Gürumze and Hadsjin. From a hole issues a mephitic vapour so powerful that birds flying over it are often killed and their bodies may be seen lying round the spot. Lunatics are brought to this place, and after being securely tied are placed for five minutes in the hole. Usually the treatment kills them, and the neighbourhood of the cave is covered with their graves. Mr. Barker's description, of course, recalled to me Strabo's description of the sanatorium at the Charonian cave of Acharaka.<sup>2</sup>

W. R. HALLIDAY.

<sup>2</sup>Strabo, xiv., 44, 649.

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#### ARMENIAN FOLK-TALES (*concluded*).

##### 10. *The Fortunes of a Prince and the Wise Fox.*<sup>1</sup>

A certain Prince had fallen in love with a Princess, but, being unable to win her, he forsook home and town and betook himself to a distant forest, where he lived by hunting, shooting only one creature a day.

<sup>1</sup>This is the ninth story in *Manana*, and is not given in dialect, but in Bishop Sirvantzdiantz' own language.

One day, contrary to his custom, he shot two birds. Upon his return he saw a fox sitting near the spot which he called his home. The fox ran to meet him, and, taking the birds from him, proceeded to dress them and prepare them for supper, when he set one before the Prince and ate the other himself.

The next morning the Prince went hunting again, and this time he returned with three birds. "I may expect another guest to-night," said he to himself. And so it proved, for soon he descried a great bear seated beside the fox. The fox ran forward and, taking the game, prepared it and presented one portion to the bear.

The following day the Prince brought down four birds, and on his return what should he see but a wolf seated beside the bear! The fox came to meet him, took the game, prepared it, and divided it amongst them.

The next day he shot five birds. He returned to find an enormous lion seated in state beside the other animals. The fox performed his tasks as before.

Another day dawned, and the Prince went hunting again. This time he took six birds, and returned to find a leopard added to the family.

On the sixth day, having shot seven birds, he saw upon his return, a great bird, one of whose wings would reach to Bagdad and the other to Bassorah. It was the bird called the Emerald Roc. The fox ran to meet the Prince like a model servant. He politely unburdened him of the game, and, after preparing it, he first served the hunter, and then divided the remainder among his fellow-creatures.

Fear and astonishment seized the Prince. He was in terror lest the fury of the beasts should be let loose, yet he marvelled at their docile behaviour. But what can he do? Here was a remarkable community, family, friends, and companions. The Prince continued to live under these conditions somewhat fearfully, but day by day feeling more secure.

Near their dwelling-place stood the lightning-riven stump of a great oak, which we will designate the Throne of the Fox, and the green-sward around it constituted the Council-Chamber of the Beasts.

When the Prince left them to go hunting, as was his custom, Sir Fox mounted his Throne, and summoned the Beasts to attend the Council. He first delivered a eulogy upon Man, and enjoined the Beasts to recognize the Prince as their Lord and Master, and to serve him with devoted hearts and minds. Each of the Beasts raised a paw, and the bird its wing, in token of agreement to this pledge. Thereupon the Fox continued his address, saying,—“We must begin to-day to show him our devotion. You are all aware that our Master belongs to the nobility. Therefore he should have a fine tent, furnished with beds, couches, and vessels for food and drink. And these wants should be supplied without delay. Which of you will undertake this service?” They decided it should be the Emerald Roc. He soared away on his errand, and soon returned, bearing all these requirements upon his wings. The Fox set up the tent, and arranged the beds and furniture.

In the evening the Master returned. The Beasts all sallied forth to meet him and escort him to his fine new dwelling. The Fox cleaned the game, and cooked the Prince's portion upon a platter. He set a fine table also. The Master dined in mingled satisfaction and fear. The Beasts lapped their portions.

The next morning, after the Prince went hunting, the Fox took his seat upon the Throne once more, and the audience assembled. The one upon the Throne then proceeded to make a new proposition. “You are aware,” said he, “that, when God created Man, He created a companion for him also. Our grandsires had this tradition from their ancestors, and handed it down to us. Adam inspected all the animals, and saw that they were in pairs. He complained to God of loneliness, so God gave him Eve to be his companion. It is contrary to God, and contrary to Nature, for man to live alone. Our Master needs a wife, and she must be his equal in rank, a Princess. Now which of you will undertake this service?”

They debated the question, and finally declared,—“Although we are all most willing, we lack the necessary equipment. Because we are Beasts we shall be driven away from the haunts of men, and not be allowed to approach the palace or the park. Therefore we beg the Emerald Roc to perform this office also.” The Roc

consents, and soars away to the Royal Park, where the King's daughter is taking a promenade among the roses and flowers. The bird seizes her, and soon the astonished maiden finds herself in the midst of a company of wild beasts, but where she is treated with the greatest consideration, especially by Mr. Fox, who puts on airs and uses many polite expressions to reassure her.

This day the Prince had shot eight birds, and on his homeward way he was wondering what new creature might have come to enjoy his hospitality. Then how great was his astonishment when he was met by the whole company, the Fox fawning, and caressing him more than his wont, and being escorted by them to his tent, to behold there the Princess, his lady-love ! And how great was the joy of both !

When the King heard of his daughter's capture, he sent four armed men to the forest to recover her. The Fox sees them from afar, and makes ready for them. He sends the bear and the wolf to destroy three of them, leaving one to return to the King with the news of the disaster.

The King then sends eight warriors to rescue the Princess. The Fox sends the lion and the leopard to meet them, and instructs them to kill seven, leaving one again to return to the King. This time the King prepared an army to send to the forest. The Fox foresees this, and, mounting his Throne, he exhorts the Beasts each to go to his own kindred and bring them to fight against the army.

The day following, as the Prince is returning from the chase, he finds the whole forest is full of wild beasts, but his particular friends have them in charge, and lead them to him, and the Fox explains the situation.

On the morrow the army approaches, the wild beasts attack them, and the army is destroyed. Then the Beasts take their Master, and seat him upon the throne at the Capital. The Fox becomes Prime Minister, and the other beasts are the Ministers. Thus good fortune comes to them all.

Three apples fell from heaven.

J. S. WINGATE.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### LIBRARY OF FOLK-LORE SOCIETY; CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL D'ANTHROPOLOGIE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE PRÉHISTORIQUES.

With reference to the arrangements for use by members of the Society's Library, now housed at University College, London, I am directed by the Council to state that a catalogue of the books is in preparation, and that an announcement of the conditions of use will be made as soon as the catalogue has been completed. Gifts of books and pamphlets on folklore and kindred subjects will be welcomed. I am also directed to draw the attention of members to the holding at Geneva in the first week of September, 1912, of the fourteenth meeting of the *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistoriques*, when opportunity will be afforded for the discussion of the many important discoveries made since the last session, at Monaco in 1906, and for excursions to places of scientific interest. Particulars may be obtained from the general secretary of the Congress, M. W. Deonna, 16 Boulevard des Tranchées, Geneva.

F. A. MILNE, *Secretary*.

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### ALBANIAN AND MONTENEGRIN FOLKLORE.

[Communicated by Dr. J. G. Frazer.]

*Symbolic extinction of household fire.*—In Montenegro, when the last male of a family was shot, it was customary for the chief woman of the house to throw water on the hearth and extinguish the fire as a symbol of the extinction of the family. The custom

is not yet extinct among the peasants when the last male of a family dies.

*Communal justice.*—There has been recently (about February, 1912) an extraordinary case of rude justice in the Fandi bariak of Mirdita. A certain family has long been a pest to its neighbours, robbing, shooting, and being generally objectionable. The local heads held a sitting and condemned the whole of the males of the family to death. Men were told off to ascertain the whereabouts of the various victims, and pick them off. On the appointed day the whole seventeen males were shot. Of them one was only five, and another twelve years old. To any protest against the brutality of killing a child in cold blood, the reply is,—“It was bad blood, and must not be propagated!” It seems incredible, but I was assured that it was actually intended to shoot a wretched woman because she was *enceinte*, and might bear a male who would continue the inherited evil. Three shots, which missed, were fired at her. She then rushed to a man and called on him to protect her, and he took her in *besa* (a peace oath), and she was spared.

*Mourning custom.*—It is perhaps noteworthy that, whereas in Montenegro face-scratching as a sign of mourning is done by *women*, in North Albania it is only done by *men*, and it is not proper for women to do it. I was at a funeral at Skreli before Christmas, and all the men had already clawed their temples, which were red and inflamed with scratches; no women were clawed.

*Divination.*—It is of interest just now to note what attention is being paid to the signs on bladebones and fowl breastbones. They are read eagerly, and, I am earnestly assured, foretell nothing but blood.

*Folk-medicine.*—I was recently down on the plains of Bregu Mati distributing quinine to the luckless people who were penned on the plains by the troops throughout last fever season. I found a great many very bad cases of enlarged spleen. The local remedy for this is to take a sheep's spleen, lay it over the seat of disease, and then hang it by the fire and roast it all away, when the disease will disappear with it.

If you see a snake swallowing a frog, this is a most valuable opportunity to obtain a cure for epilepsy. You must throw a

handkerchief, preferably a black one, over the snake. In its fright it will disgorge the frog. Keep the handkerchief and, when any one falls down in a fit, throw it over the patient's head. The patient will then likewise disgorge the disease.

I am myself becoming the centre of a myth, and am supposed to have wrought a cure on a man I never touched. He was shot in the head during last year's revolution, and his recovery is entirely ascribed to me, and not to the doctor to whom it was due.

*Taboos at childbirth.*—In Montenegro, though a woman is expected, among the peasants, to be fit to carry wood and water three days after childbirth, she is not allowed to cook and make bread until she has been "churched." I learnt this while living in a peasant house at Njegush, through commenting with horror on the case of a young married woman who, by carrying wood too early, brought on her death. I was told that fetching wood was quite a right and proper thing for her to do, but that, *of course*, she would not be allowed to make bread or cook. When I asked "Why?" I was told that bread so made could not possibly be eaten; it was not right; it was never done;—and so forth. All the company agreed on this point.

I have recently learnt also that in Montenegro it is regarded as impossible for childbirth to be allowed at the house of the mother's parents. Should such a thing be permitted, it would bring the worst luck,—nay, absolute ruin,—on her brothers, who, of course, live in the parental home. I know of a case even among the upper and educated class. A young married lady went to visit her mother, and had to shorten her stay for the above reason. Her grandmother nearly drove her out of the house, and said on her departure,—“Thank God! you have gone, and haven't brought evil on the house!”

I have been making enquiries on the subject here in Scutari. I find that a mother is not allowed to visit a married daughter till after the birth of her first child. I enquired if under any circumstances the daughter could go to her mother's for such an event, but this seemed quite a new idea. People did not definitely say that it was impossible, but they did not seem to imagine that any such necessity could ever occur. The mother is not allowed

to attend at the birth of her daughter's child, at any rate never the first time. Later on it appears not to matter so much,—but there was uncertainty, and I gather that it is not done. Should no child be borne after a year of marriage, the prohibition of the mother's visit is removed.

It is customary to break an egg over the face of a newborn child. Therefore eggs are a correct present to take to a house after the occurrence of a birth. The breaking of the egg is, so far as I can make out, to avert the Evil Eye.

*Foundation sacrifices.*—Cocks and lambs are still often sacrificed when foundations of houses are laid in North Albania. The citadel at Šcutari is one of the many buildings of which it is told that a human being was built into the foundations. This particular event, according to an old and powerfully dramatic ballad, occurred early in the fourteenth century, when this place was under Serb rule. Devils destroyed by night what was built by day, and only after sacrificing the young wife of one of the three young Princes could the building be reared. The tradition of such burials in foundations has survived till recent years. An Austrian engineer in Bosnia told me in 1906 that some twelve years previously a panic was caused by a report that the Austrians were going to brick a child into the foundations of a bridge. This bridge was being built over the Lim, and, owing to the incapacity of the engineer, was so badly constructed that it fell twice. When the third attempt to erect it was made, the people took fright, and were only with difficulty persuaded that no human sacrifice would take place.

*Objection to portraits.*<sup>1</sup>—The late Mr. Holman Hunt has repeatedly told me that, when he began his painting in Palestine, he had the greatest difficulty in getting people to sit to him as models, owing to a belief that, when the Day of Judgment came, the portrait might arrive first at the Gates of Heaven and be admitted, and the rightful owner of the name be dismissed as an impostor. A month or two ago I met again the aged man who was afraid lest my sketch of him might cause his death, as mentioned in Dr. Frazer's book.<sup>2</sup> He had not forgotten the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii., p. 83 (Vaud).

<sup>2</sup> *The Golden Bough*, (3rd edition), Part ii., *Taboo etc.*, p. 100.



episode, and was glad to hear that the sketch was locked up quite safely.

*Tabu on names.*—I have been for the last seven months engaged in distributing relief (clothing, roofing material, etc.) to the luckless Albanians whose property was entirely destroyed in the disturbances last year. This necessitates keeping a list of the families who have received relief, and it is usually only with great difficulty that a woman can be induced to give her husband's name. She always gives her own maiden name. When pressed as to her husband's name, she very often says,—“Ask that other woman,” pointing to a comrade, “she knows.” The only reason I can obtain for this is,—“Modesty; of course she is too modest to say to which man she belongs.” Even here in Scutari, until very recently, it was never the custom of a (Christian) man and wife to recognise each other in the street, and they very seldom, if ever, went out together. I was given the same reason,—“She would not like people to know he was her husband.” The last ten years, however, have seen rapid changes. It was fortunate that I visited the Albanian mountaineers when I did, for that year (1908) was the last in which they were to be seen in their primitive state.

*Burial customs.*—It is customary in the mountains of Shalu and Dushmani, and possibly elsewhere, to leave some iron article in a new-made grave until the corpse is brought for interment. It is unlucky to step over an empty grave.

*Bridal customs.*—In the Crmnica valley in Montenegro (and possibly in other parts), it was, and among peasants may still be, the duty of the two *djevers* (bride-leaders) who came to fetch the bride to see that no one tied knots in the fringe of her *strukka* (a long straight shawl, worn like a Scottish plaid and with very long fringes at each end). Should some malevolent person succeed in doing this, the bride would either miscarry with her first child or bear a cripple.

*Divine right.*—It is amazing how greatly the tribesmen believe in “the divine right of kings.” The hereditary chief of the Mirdites, Prenk Pasha, was looked on as but little short of a god when he returned from exile in 1908. Now, although after three years' experiences the Mirdites and other tribes are

disappointed in him, they still have a superstitious belief in his power. I have frequently been told that "The Mirdites cannot do [so and so], because Prenk will not allow them. They would *like* to, of course. But what can they do?" When I have pointed out that one man cannot possibly prevent thirty thousand people taking separate action if they wish, I am always told,— "But he was born chief. He is sent by God. They have to do what he says."

Scutari.

EDITH DURHAM.

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"THE HAIR OF THE DOG THAT BIT HIM."

I was, many years ago, at Panda-ma-tenka,—then the terminus of the wagon-road towards the Zambesi,—in company with the late George Westbeach, one of the last of the old-time far-interior traders, and a man so intimately conversant with native life and customs that he was usually described as a "white *induna*." Westbeach had a dog named Tau (Lion), almost as well known as himself, and a powerful mongrel animal famous for having three distinct types of deportment for as many classes of humanity,—one of cordiality and submission for his master and, in a lesser degree, his master's most special intimates, another of a sort of indifferent friendliness (not amounting to *bonhomie*) for white men generally, and a third of uncompromising hostility towards all natives not included in the first category.

Whilst I was at the place mentioned, a party of Bushmen (not Kaffirs, if I remember rightly) came in, with some honeycomb for barter. They found it difficult to approach on account of the dog, and at last one man was bitten. The bite was a bad one, and the sufferer was not satisfied until he had obtained, through Westbeach, some of the dog's hairs, which he placed upon the wound.

This incident was brought back to my mind by reading, some years afterwards, in Cervantes' *La Gitanilla*, how a stranger, bitten in approaching an encampment of gipsies, is treated by

them similarly, the hairs being first fried in oil, and then rubbed in with other ingredients.<sup>1</sup>

I hope that the locality of this example of an almost universal practice, from China<sup>2</sup> to Peru, may render it of sufficient interest for record.

EDMOND SELOUS.

<sup>1</sup> "Tomó algunos pelos de los perros, friólos en aceite, y lavando primero con vino dos mordeduras que tenía en la pierna izquierda, le puso los pelos con el aceite en ellas, y encima un poco de romero verde mascado, lióselo muy bien con paños limpios, y santiguóle las heridas, y dijo: Dormid, amigo, que con el ayuda de Dios no será nada." (*Edición Maucci*, 1895, p. 638.)

<sup>2</sup> Dennys, *Folk-Lore of China*, p. 52.

#### SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CURES AND CHARMS.

(Vol. xxi., pp. 375-8.)

Dr. Gaster has already recorded in *Folk-Lore*, at the above reference, a few charms and astrological talismans in a manuscript of about A.D. 1693-5. I have in my possession a printed pamphlet of 31 pages, by "*John Durant*, Student in *Physick and Astrology*," "Printed for *Sam. Clark*, in *George-yard*, in *Lombard-street*, 1697," and the following selection from its contents may be an interesting addition to Dr. Gaster's notes. The original spelling and punctuation have been carefully followed.

The first part of the title runs thus :

"ART and NATURE | Joyn | HAND in HAND | Or, The | Poor Mans daily Companion. | Wherein is shew'd for TWOPENCE Charge | how you may Cure any Distempers Incident | to HUMANE BODYS : | "

and is followed on the title-page by 21 lines repeating many of the subjects of the cures etc. The omitted passages relate to disorders now dealt with by secret quacks, or to remedies and matters which to mention would be *contra bonos mores*. Some of the charms are familiar and still extant, but are nevertheless extracted for the sake of completing the picture of popular remedies in 1697.

The first section is headed "The *Magical* and *Physical* VERTUES OF BEASTS AND BIRDS."

*"Of the Hare.*

The Heart of a *Hare* dried, and worn about the Neck cureth the Cramp; and Drunk in *Wormwood-Water*, cureth all the Worms in the Stomach or Belly.

*Of the Mole, or Want.*

The Bones of a Dog *Want* sewed up in Silk, and worn about the Neck, . . .

*Of the Tortoise.*

Take the Shell of a *Tortoise* Egg, and wear it about you . . .

*Of a Ram.*

He being a Creature of the *Sun*, and if he be Knock'd down, or Kill'd at any of those times, when Herbs of the *Sun* is to be gather'd, as shall be shewn hereafter at large, and Rings made of the Horns, and one put on the Finger next the little Finger on each Hand, cures the *Cramp* to Admiration.

*Of a Magpye.*

Being a Bird of *Mars*, if it be kill'd at any of those times when any Herbs of *Mars* are to be gathered, and the Brains of it taken out and dried to Powder, and put into white Wine, and the Wine drunk . . .

*Of a Hedg-Sparrow.*

Being a Bird of *Venus*, and killed at any of those times as afore was shewn,<sup>1</sup> and Salted well, and eaten Raw, is one of the best Remedys to cure the *Stone* in the *Reins* or *Bladder*, or *Vritory* [sic] Passages.

*Of the Land Toad.*

Take a great *Toad*, kill him, and put him into a Horse Dung-hill, there let him lie, and the *Ants* will consume the Flesh; in the Head you shall find a thing like a Stone, great or little, the which being set in Gold, and worn about a Man or Woman, it doth give them warning of any Mischief, or Ill to them, that weareth it, by changing Colours in divers manners.

*Of a Spider.*

Take a *Spider* and shut it up close in a Walnut Shell, and wear it about you, cures an Ague to Admiration.

<sup>1</sup> That is, at times when Herbs of *Venus* were to be gathered.

*Of a Stag.*

The Horns of a *Stag* kill'd in *October*, and being dryed, and one Dram thereof taken, doth cause one to Vomit. And take the Bones of his Heart, being kill'd in *May*, and worn about one who hath the *Falling-Sickness*, cureth him in a very short time; it cureth the Passion of the Heart; and is a very wholesome thing. . . .

*Of the Row-Buck.*

Take the Horns of him and make Beads thereof, and wear them about your Neck, or Wrists. . . .

*Of the Squirrel.*

Take his Fore Teeth and wear them, and you shall never be troubled with the Cramp.

*Of the Water Rat.*

Take his Shin [Skin?] and Dry it and Dress it as a Furr. . . . His Bones beaten to Powder doth the same effect being Drunk. . . .

The Magical vertue of *Trees* and *Herbs*.*The Pine Tree.*

THE *Pine-Apples* being gathered when they are full Ripe, the Kernels being worn by any, the said Party shall have no Lice about him. . . . The salt of *Pine-Apples* is an excellent Medicine for divers things, especially for the *Stone* and *Strangury*.

*Of the Orange Tree.*

Take the Leaves of the Tree and carry them in a little Bag bound to the Navel. . . . The Leaves powdered and drank in White Wine. . . . The Juice of *Oranges* Pounded, and the Peels. Distilled, is very good for the Stone, with *Fennel Seed*, *Pursely-Seed*, an Ounce, of *Dill Seed*, half an Ounce.

*Of the Nutmeg Tree.*

Take a *Nutmeg* that hath the *Mace* on him, and sew it in a Linnen Bag. . . . It will also cure the *Squinancy*, if it be worn about the Neck; The Rind of this Tree Boyled in fair Water and drunk, stops all kind of *Fluxes*.

*Of the Pomegranate Tree.*

Take the Juice of a *Pomgranate*, and one part of the Kernels, and of *Rose Water* two parts, and put it together, and give it to a

young Child who Sucks, being sweetned with Sugar, it doth firmly knit the Navel, and keep him from a *Rupture*; but this said Juice and Ingredients must be first twice Distilled.

*Of the Lemmon Tree.*

Take a green Lemmon and wet it in *Wine Vinegar*, and sew it in a Bag, and bind it to the Nape of the Neck, and immediately stops the Bleeding.

*Of the Sassafras Tree.*

This is an Excellent Tree, and of Divers Vertues, his Magical vertues are by his Smell, and that is for the *Megrim* and such like pains of the Head; and most Excellent against the *Falling Sickness*. The Decoction of *Sassafras* is a great dryer, it cureth the *Rheum*; the *Salt* of it is a very Excellent thing for many *Diseases*. . . .

*Of the Yew Tree.*

The Berries of a *Yew Tree* dried, and worn in a little Bag about the Neck, doth wonderfully help the *Trembling of the Heart*, and is good against the *Kings Evil*, and stayeth *Bleeding at the Nose*. . . .

*Of the Lime Tree.*

Take a piece of a Fingers breath [sic], of the bigness and square of the Timber of this Tree, and if anyone be Hurt, or Bleed at the Nose, write his Name on one side of the Stick, and on the contrary side the Character of O R, then burn the Stick, and it ceaseth Bleeding Immediately.<sup>2</sup>

*Of the Wild Ash Tree.*

Take a cluster of the *Green Berries* and convey them about the Party Suspected to be a *Witch*, and then examine her, and she will confess. Take a cluster of the same *Berries* and hang them about a Horse Neck, and it will cure him of the *Farcy* or *Fashions*. Take three Ripe *Berries* of the said Tree, and pound them, and give them in *White Wine*, and it doth absolutely cure the *Yellow Jaundice*.

*Of the Service Tree.*

The *Fruit* of it dried and worn about the Neck stoppeth Bleeding; . . .

<sup>2</sup> See W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, cap. ii. (Transference of Disease).

*Of the Mandrake Apple.*

The *Mandrake green Apple* being worn about the Neck of the Party that hath a *Wen*, even as the *Apple* doth wither, so shall the *Wen*.

*Of the great French Mallows.*

Take of his Seeds and Lace them upon a Thread, and being worn about the Arms and Neck, it helpeth the *Ague* and *Cramp*; . . . the small *Mallow* is better than great, it suppleth and looseth; it is very good for a Bruise, and it is of a very cold Nature.

*Of the Mouse-ear.*

Take of the Leaves of *Mouse-ear*, being an Herb of the *Moon*, and dry them, and being worn about a Man or Woman, no Infection can take hold of the Party.

*Of Angelica.*

Take the Roots of *Angelica* and dry them hard, then cut them in square slices, and Lace them on a Silk Thread like to a *Bracelet*, and wear them about the Arm or Neck, and it keepeth away all Infection from the Body, and cureth the Spleen; . . .

*Of St. John's wort.*

This Herb being gathered when the Sun is in *Aries*, and then presently dried, and made into fine Powder, and worn about the Neck in a Silk Bag, doth cure the *Squinsy*, the *Mumps*, the *Megrim*, and *Disiness* of the Head.

*Of Carduus Benedictus.*

The Down of *Carduus* being scraped into a little Bag, and worn about the Neck, doth cure the *Kings Evil* if it be not yet broken; it cureth also the *Swelling* of the *Throat*.

*Of Valerian.*

Take the Roots of *Valerian*, and cut them in pretty thick pieces like a Die, and dry them in an Oven, then Lace them on a Thread, and wear them about the Arms as a *Bracelet*, it will cure the *Cramp*, and it is exceeding good for the *Shaking Palsey*; . . .

*Against the Head-ach.*

R. The Herb that groweth upon the Head of an *Image*, and it cureth the *Head-ach* by its *Magical Vertue*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Moss growing upon a skull is used for headache; cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 96; F. Grose, *A Provincial Glossary*, p. 118; *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 56 (Clare).

*Of Sparagus, an Herb of Jupitur.*

The Root being applyed and kept upon the Tooth, draws it forth without Pain.

*Of Penony under the Sun.*

The Root being hung in Childrens Neck, is good against the *Convulsion Fits*,<sup>4</sup> *Pyrathrum*, or *St. Antonies Fire*, doth the same.

*Of the Swallow.*

You shall find in young *Swallows*, taken at the Encrease of the *Moon*, and if you slit them by the Belly you'll find two little Stones, one of one colour, and the other of divers, which being tied in a piece of *Calves Skin*, and hung on the Neck, is good against the *Episepsie*, and cures it.<sup>5</sup>

*Of Plantane under Venus.*

*Plantane* Roots being worn about the Neck, are good against the *Kings Evil*, and doth Dissolve it.

## MAGICAL CHARMES.

*For an Ague.*

WHEN *Jesus* went up to the *Cross* to be *Crucified*, the *Jews* asked him, saying, *Art thou affraid, or hast thou an Ague*; *Jesus* answered and said, *I am not affraid, neither have I the Ague, but all those which beareth the Name of Jesus about them, shall not be affraid nor have the Ague, Amen, Sweet Jesus, Amen, Sweet Jehovia, Amen.*<sup>6</sup>

*Another.*

There came two *Angels* from the *East*, the one brought *Fire*, the other brought *Frost*, *In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, out Frost, in Fire.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (8th edition, 1676), p. 230, says that the *chelidonium*, from the belly of a swallow, will cure madmen, "if it be lapped in a fair cloth, and tyed to the right arm."

<sup>6</sup>This formula, in almost identical words, is quoted from J. Blagrave (*Astrological Practice of Physick*, ed. 1689, p. 135) by Black, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>7</sup>This is the converse of the ordinary "Out Fire and in Frost," which is used for burns, scalds, etc.



*Another.*

Write these characters in a piece of *Parchment*, and wear them about you, and they are these following<sup>8</sup>

*A b r a c c a d a b r a*

*A b r a c c a d a b r*

*A b r a c c a d a b*

*A b r a c c a d a*

*A b r a c c a d*

*A b r a c c a*

*A b r a c*

*A b r a*

*A b r*

*A b*

*A*

Or else take all the *Nails* paring of the *Toes* and *Fingers* of any *Man* or *Woman*, lying Sick of an *Intermittent Fever*, and to mix or incorporate them with *Wax*, so as the Party in the doing hereof do say these words, *I am about a Remedy for the Tertian*, Quotidian, or Quartaine *Ague*, according as the Patient is troubled with the one or other of these *Fevers*, which done and said, to stick up the *Wax* upon the Door of another *Man* or *Womans* House that is not Sick at all, and that before the *Sun* be Risen, which no doubt will cure the Sick Person, and set the *Ague* or *Fever* upon the well Person.”<sup>9</sup>

[Here, pp. 13-5, follows a Table of “Planetary Hours,” with explanations “to enable any Person whatsoever, tho of never so mean a Capacity, provided he can but Read, and know what a Clock it is, may know when to gather an *Herb* in the right *Planetary* hour for every day in the year, that *Herbs* are fit to be gathered, pointing directly to the true time.”]

If space is available, extracts from pp. 16-31 will appear in the next number of *Folk-lore*.]

A. R. WRIGHT.

<sup>8</sup> A similar charm is given by F. Grose, *A Provincial Glossary* (ed. 1811), p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. G. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 41, according to which a sickness is transferred to the first healthy person passing through a gate or stile on which a charm or curse is left.

## REVIEWS.

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THE STUDY OF CELTIC LITERATURE. By MATTHEW ARNOLD, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix by ALFRED NUTT. Nutt, 1910. 8vo, pp. xlii + 189.

MR. ALFRED NUTT left as his last bequest to the world a new edition, carefully annotated and brought up to date, of Matthew Arnold's famous Oxford Lectures on *The Study of Celtic Literature*. A chance re-perusal of these lectures, now some time after their date of publication, suggests two reflections; first, the immense strides made in Celtic studies and in their general appreciation since Arnold's day, and, second, the important work done by the Editor himself in making the world at large sensible both of the subject of these studies and of their importance in the general current of European literature. The Lectures, delivered over forty years ago, were in some sense an apology for demanding attention to such a subject at all. What points of contact could an Oxford student find in the literatures, if they were worthy of such a name as literature, of countries so isolated, so retrograde, so un-English, as Wales, Ireland, and Western Scotland? What value had these literatures, supposing that they actually existed at all, for him? To-day, when we have learned to look upon these literary 'remains' as fragments of a much greater whole, to which their existence bears witness, we begin to find that, on whatever path connected with mediæval studies we may set out to walk, whether historical or literary, whether ecclesiastical or secular, or whether it be in the more specialized domain of comparative philology, we cannot proceed far without some knowledge of these languages and of the writings preserved in them. They remain the only available sources of information

on a great variety of subjects of world-wide interest. If it is first of all to the original investigators, the linguists and translators, that this change is due, we owe hardly less to those scholars, among whom Mr. Nutt held a distinguished place, who laboured to co-ordinate and elucidate the available material and bring it into its natural connection with the great stream of European culture. In this, as the members of the Folk-Lore Society will always remember, by word and pen, by encouragement to younger workers, and often by actual pecuniary sacrifice, he wrought unceasingly and successfully. The obscure questions of the sources and date of the Ossianic prose tales and poetry, so little understood when he began to write, attracted him hardly less than the origins of the legend of the Holy Grail and other portions of the Arthurian cycle. His series of introductions attached to the volumes of *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, of which the substance was re-published in his little "Popular Study" on *Ossian and the Ossianic Literature*, set the whole subject upon a new basis. Here Mr. Nutt entered the lists with Professor Zimmer, who had sustained the thesis that the whole Fian cycle of legends was the outcome of the Norse contact with Ireland, and who asserted that the historical(?) Finn was the ninth-century chief of a mercenary band, half Norse, half Irish. Against this idea, Mr. Nutt contended that the development of the Finn legend owed its origin to the successes of Munster under Brian Boru in the eleventh century, and that the south of Ireland, from which it chiefly hails, discarding the Northern cycle of Cuchulainn tales, which had hitherto been the favourite entertainment of the chiefs, evolved in their own honour the tales of the Ossianic cycle. While admitting that there is probably much in this theory to account for the rapid multiplication about this period of the tales of the Fians, we are not disposed to rely upon it so entirely as its originator would do. Indeed, it is probable that he would himself have added new considerations to his theory, had he rewritten his essays at a later period,—the suggestions advanced by Mr. John MacNeill, in particular, having brought into view some fresh facts by which he was not uninfluenced. But his methodical study of the subject remains the most thorough and scientific treatment that the question

has received, and will always be taken as a ground for future studies.

Even more detailed, and not less scientific, was the investigation which he undertook into the tangled and difficult subject of the Irish pagan and mediæval theory regarding Elysium, with its cognate subjects of metempsychosis and re-birth, the results of which he gave to the world in his two volumes of *The Voyage of Bran* in 1895-97. This is Mr. Nutt's most elaborated contribution to Celtic studies, and the one by which his name will always, probably, be best remembered, although his Ossianic work and his *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* are, to our mind, even more important as contributions to the history of Celtic origins. In this book he reviews all available Irish stories of the Unseen World, whether in the form of Voyage or of Vision, and concludes his investigations by a lengthy comparison with similar material and ideas derived from classical and oriental sources. His enquiry led him into the examination of many side issues, such as the origin of fairy beliefs, the influence of Christian dogma on pagan beliefs, the sacrificial rite, and the worship of agricultural gods in Ireland. Whether or not we may always agree with the conclusions come to, we feel that the method is sound and scientific, and that no data of importance is likely to have been overlooked. An independence of judgment and a careful arraying of all possible facts are characteristics of Mr. Nutt's work.

His notes and appendix to Arnold's lectures, which so greatly enrich his edition of that work, were called forth partly by the necessary corrections required by the advance of our knowledge in Celtic subjects generally, partly by his own dissent from some of Arnold's conclusions and views, which he believed, in spite of the stimulating influence which the lectures have undoubtedly exercised, to have been productive of false and harmful results when too thoughtlessly adopted by younger writers. Undoubtedly, Arnold's dicta have been watchwords for the young generation; and, being often founded on too narrow or on erroneous data, they have misled the heedless. In many ways Arnold's ideal has not been fulfilled. He looked for a closer union and understanding between Teuton and Celt by means of a truer appreciation of each other's ideals, as expressed in their

character and in their literature. It was with the high object of attaining this end that Arnold set out to deliver his lectures. It was, he thought, the task of the Celt to spiritualize the Saxon, of the Saxon to direct the wayward genius of the Celt. With a strange inconsistency, he would have wiped out the languages in which the national genius had found its expression, while he would have preserved the sentiments which those languages enshrined. The languages, being a bar to intercourse with the Englishman, must be sacrificed on the altar of brotherhood, and the Celt must lose his individuality in order to spiritualize the Saxon. As Mr. Nutt shows, the actual accomplishment has been quite otherwise than Arnold anticipated. The revived interest in the national languages and literatures has been accompanied by, may we not even say largely brought about by, a desire to deepen the gap between the two countries, rightly or wrongly believed to be fundamentally antagonistic to each other in aim, in temperament, and in destiny. The motive power has in many cases been, not a desire of closer union, but the purpose of greater isolation. This Arnold did not foresee; but had he foreseen it, we believe, with Mr. Nutt, that it would not have led him to deny his theory, but only to raise it on to higher ground; "that," in the editor's words, "if the contact in these islands of Celt and Teuton has in the past produced results of such signal excellence, it is the best of reasons why we should continue and intensify that contact . . . ; finally, recognising that contact implies friction, he would plead that tolerance, broad-minded sympathy, the resolute will to understand and to think the best, are the only efficacious lubricants."

The appendix to this edition contains a brief but admirable sketch of the outlines of the history of Irish Literature.

ELEANOR HULL.

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. Edit. by JAMES HASTINGS. Vol. IV. (Confirmation—Drama). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911. 4to, pp. xvi + 907.

THIS fourth volume, of over nine hundred pages, brings as far as Drama the accomplishment of Dr. Hastings' purpose "to give a

complete account of Religion and Ethics throughout the World." Such an attempt on such a scale by its nobleness almost disarms criticism, which must also be mindful of the difficulties in enlisting (and humouring) an army of experts, in laying out suitable headings, in avoiding too obvious contradictions by different writers, and in restricting the overlapping of articles. So, if an article occasionally seems the work of a pupil rather than of a master of his subject, or if a discussion is truncated to avoid trenching on another section, or search for an article or reference under, say, Doomsday is in vain, we do not feel entitled to complain. It is all to the good that one finds unexpected headings,—such as Consumption (Economic) or Development (Biological),—but we will venture to suggest that an alphabetical list of articles would be a useful preface to each volume. Such a list could be examined much more rapidly than the volume as a whole, and many interesting notes, such as those on Corners and Dew, would be more likely to catch the eye. There is already prefixed a list of authors, (many of them familiar in *Folk-Lore*), with their articles and some of their qualifications. It would be also a great boon if the illustrations,—now confined to rare diagrams,—could be extended. The most important folklore sections in the present volume are,—Cosmogony and cosmology (54 pp.); Death and disposal of the dead (101 pp., including an introduction by Mr. Hartland); Demons and spirits (71 pp.); Disease and medicine (49 pp.); Divination (55 pp.); and Drama (41 pp.). But there are many other valuable shorter articles, such as those under Cross; Cross-roads; Cuchulainn cycle; Cursing and blessing; Deæ Matres; and Door. The article on Creation is disappointingly brief, and the section on funeral chaplets under Crown does not refer to English funeral garlands (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 496). Perhaps a fair test of the volume is to search for its contents concerning a country in which one is interested. For example, China is dealt with under Confucian religion; Confucius; Cosmogony and cosmology; Crimes and punishments; Death and disposal of the dead; Demons and spirits; and Drama. The principal omissions seem to be under Disease and medicine,<sup>1</sup> and under Divination (where at least a reference might be inserted to Cosmogony

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, vol. iii. (1895), No. 4.

and cosmology, under which the Book of Changes is dealt with; there is only a very slight reference to Chinese methods in the Buddhist section under Divination). But the allotment of 22 pages to China is certainly generous.

This *Encyclopædia* is already so often cited by scholars that it is obviously well-known to many, and ought not to need commendation to the rest. It must remain for many years a standard work of reference, and we wish Dr. Hastings the reward he has earned of general appreciation and large sales.

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REST DAYS: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY. By HUTTON WEBSTER.  
[Reprinted from the University Studies, Lincoln, Nebraska,  
vol. XI., Nos. 1-2, 1911.] 8vo, pp. 158.

THIS is one of those monographs on subjects connected with sociology and anthropology to which the American universities are now, with so much advantage, directing attention. In discussions on the origin of the Babylonian and Hebrew Sabbaths it has long been recognised that the rest days observed by primitive races do not originate in considerations of practical utility, but depend upon some superstitious feelings ultimately resolvable into that "feare of things invisible," which Hobbes, foreshadowing modern principles of anthropology, regarded as "the naturall Seede of Religion." In working out the influence of beliefs of this kind on the establishment of rest days, Professor Webster, with abundant learning, discusses the various forms of abstinence and taboo at critical epochs, such as the *genna* of Assam in connection with death rites and other "sacred" times and seasons. He then considers periods of abstinence connected with lunar phenomena, and gives a useful account of the lunar calendar. This leads to the subject of the Babylonian Sabattu and the Hebrew Sabbath. The monograph goes over ground some of which has been covered by Dr. Frazer's *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, and may be usefully read with it. Professor Webster hopes to issue the monograph in an amplified form, and invites criticism and fresh material which may add to its value.

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SEX AND SOCIETY. Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex.  
By WILLIAM I. THOMAS. Chicago, Illinois: Univ. of  
Chicago Press, *n.d.* 8vo, pp. vii + 325.

THIS book is a collection of papers dealing successively with the organic differences of the sexes; sex in relation to primitive social control; social feeling, primitive industry, and primitive morality; the psychology of exogamy; modesty and clothing; the adventitious character of woman; the mind of woman and the lower races. These essays supply good summaries of a wide literature, but they add little novel information on these well-worn topics. Exogamy he regards as "one expression of the more restless and energetic character of the male. . . . Familiarity with women within the group and unfamiliarity with women without the group is the explanation of exogamy on the side of interest; and the system of exogamy is a result of exchanging familiar women for others."

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ARISTOTLE'S RESEARCHES IN NATURAL SCIENCE. By T. E.  
LONES. West, Newman & Co., 1912. 8vo, pp. viii + 274.  
Ill.

THERE is a thirteenth-century legend that, when Alexander the Great reached Jerusalem, his teacher Aristotle discovered the hiding-place of the books of Solomon, and learned from them all the wisdom of the Wisest Man. Such was Aristotle's repute before the Revival of Learning and the subsequent unjust contempt for the Greek Sage. Certain of his writings have now been examined afresh by Dr. Lones, who in this volume has carried out a careful and valuable piece of work which, though not primarily addressed to folklorists, will have its uses to them from a twofold aspect. On the one side, it is a summary of Aristotle's writings on natural science, which for many centuries greatly influenced scholars and the Church, and through them popular belief. On the other side, the writings contain much that is evidently not the result of personal investigations, but a record of what was told him by hunters and fishermen, and hence often ancient folklore. For example, Aristotle's belief in



an underground connection between the Caspian and Black Sea dates back the present-day belief of that locality ; the importance attached to symmetrical astragali for divination and games is signified by the disproportionate attention paid by Aristotle to those bones in numerous animals ; and many popular beliefs appear, such as that the drinking of certain waters by animals affected their colours or those of their offspring, that bleeding at particular points gave relief in diseases of such organs as the liver and spleen, that the nautilus spread its sail to 'catch a favouring gale,' and so on.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT CELTS. By J. A. MACCULLOCH.  
Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1911. 8vo, pp. xv + 399.

THE time had arrived when a book such as Mr. MacCulloch's *Religion of the Ancient Celts* had become, in a sense, inevitable. The large collection of folklore made, (to speak only of comparatively recent work), in Scotland by J. G. Campbell, Henderson, and indirectly by Alex. Carmichael in his collection of Gaelic charms and poems, in Ireland by Curtin, Wood-Martin, and Lady Wilde, and in Wales by Sir John Rhŷs ; the similar work of Le Braz, Sébillot, and Luzel in Brittany ; and the studies made by Alex. Bertrand, S. Reinach, Dottin, and Gaidoz in the religion of the ancient Gauls in France, awaited co-ordination for the general reader. Probably the work of bringing together and arranging a portion of this accumulated material could not have fallen into better hands than Mr. MacCulloch's. His articles in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* had carried him over a large part of the field, and his industry and sense of proportion have enabled him to compile out of the mass of material a useful and comprehensive book. It may be doubted whether we shall eventually be satisfied with any co-ordination which takes so much racial identity for granted as the throwing together of material from so many different sources implies ; we shall certainly not eventually be satisfied with any survey which places in juxtaposition rites and customs derived from peoples in such various stages of cultural development as, for instance, the Gaul of

Caesar's time and the Breton of to-day ; or, again, of the Ireland or Wales of the beginning of the Christian era, and the ancient Gaul of the same period. The retentiveness of the 'Celt,' using the word in the vague general sense in which it is employed by our author, is, indeed, remarkable ; but even the Celt has gone through modifications by his contact with other races, the near approach of classical and oriental influences in Southern Gaul in the early centuries of our era, especially, having profoundly modified the prevalent beliefs ; and it cannot be too often emphasised that to adopt a dictum of any Roman writer, even of so acute an observer as Caesar, on the religious beliefs of Gaul, and to apply it to the 'Celt' of early Ireland or Wales, is dangerous in the extreme. Even as applying to the district to which it directly refers, caution is necessary, for we are dealing with the verdict of foreigners, by whom the language, habits, and ideas of the people among whom they came as conquerors or travellers were only partially understood. It is only in the meantime, and with deductions, that any such general treatment and illustration of the religion of one country by the beliefs and customs of another can apply ; but for the moment it is useful to have a survey of this kind, so long as we bear in mind that the illustrations are taken from peoples in different stages of civilization. Our sources for a knowledge of 'Celtic' beliefs are, indeed, various ; mere hints from monuments, writings, and folk-beliefs have to be built up into a sort of system. As the author says, "We try to rebuild Celtic paganism and to guess at its inner spirit, though we are working in the twilight on a heap of fragments. No Celt has left us a record of his faith and practice, and the unwritten poems of the Druids died with them. Yet from these fragments we see the Celt as the seeker after God, linking himself by strong ties to the unseen, and eager to conquer the unknown by religious rite or magic art. For the things of the spirit have never appealed in vain to the Celtic soul, and long ago classical observers were struck with the religiosity of the Celts" (p. 2).

We are glad to find that the author of this book makes a healthy protest from time to time against the present tendency to dub many of the beliefs and practices of the Celtic peoples, even some of the institutions most closely bound up with their life and

social system, as pre-Celtic, or pre-Aryan. So long as our knowledge of what is and what is not Celtic is so slight as it is at present, such determinations must necessarily be of the nature of guess-work; they endeavour to decide off-hand, and without sufficient data, what the Celts held and what they did not. When we find stone-worship, tree-worship, totemism, the matriarchal system, and even a system so bound up with the whole social life of the Gaulish, the Irish, and the Welsh 'Celt' as the druidical system, relegated by different writers to the pre-Celtic races, we begin to wonder what is left for the Celt, among whom we find all these customs in full swing, to have developed as his own share in his own religion. Coming of an imaginative race, the chances are that he evolved some ideas for himself; though that he may have also incorporated others from the peoples he found existing in the countries to which he came as a settler, no one would without fuller knowledge venture to dispute. But the theory may carry us too far. The author's protest on p. 224-5 seems to us timely; and still more so when he comes (pp. 294-302) to discuss the Druids, and endeavour to reclaim them for the Celtic system. With all respect to the earlier races, about which we know almost nothing, it is difficult to see why a class associated with the religious practices of Gaul, Ireland, and Wales from the dawn of their history should not have grown up and been elaborated by themselves. It is the more likely that this was so, from the fact that we find the Druids occupying a different position and assuming different functions in early Ireland and in Gaul, their position among the more highly developed race being that of priest and teacher, while among the Irish Gaels it was rather that of medicine-man and wizard. Mr. MacCulloch has, however, fallen a victim to the modern cult of agricultural gods, and the sacrifice of animals and human beings to ensure fertility. We do not intend to dispute the point. There are signs that such a belief existed through a long period of Celtic primitive worship. But, when he proceeds further to discredit altogether the so-called 'solar theory,' and the suggestion that the great mythological figures of Celtic romance may have derived attributes from natural objects, and especially from the sun, we cannot follow him. The author is very severe on the ascription to

Cuchulainn of the attributes of the sun-god. Such things can, indeed, be exaggerated; and we are all inclined to overdraw a little in setting forth a favourite theory. But to myself personally it becomes increasingly clearer, the closer we come to the ancient primitive thought of the Gael, that "man did not" in those early times "live by bread alone," and that to the imaginative and spiritual Gael especially, the feeding of his family and the gathering in of his harvest were not the only or even the chief things on which his mind was set. Nor can we imagine that the warrior of the Cuchulainn period thought much about fields or harvests. Probably he had none; we read of perpetual raids for cattle for food, but none that I am aware of, (in that cycle of tales), to reap fields or gather in corn. The 'agricultural god' period probably belongs to a later and more settled age. Though corn seems to have been grown from very ancient times, we do not hear of agriculture being regularly carried on in Ireland until the monastic period, when each religious settlement had its plots of agricultural land for the monks to cultivate. It is characteristic that in the *Voyage of Maelduin*, among all the isles of feasting at which the wanderers touch, it is only the hermit who provides them with 'half a cake' for food; the mention of wheaten bread has quite a Christian touch! It is possible that we may come eventually to distinguish two successive periods,—the period of pure nature-worship and myth, and the period of a ritual connected with agricultural rites,—in many nations; it certainly seems that we must do so in Ireland.

Mr. MacCulloch adopts in a wholesale manner M. D'Arbois' theory about the rule of Dispater in the realms of the dead, and his idea that the Celts believed themselves to be descended from this Dark Divinity. He says (pp. 229, 341),—"Dispater was a Celtic under-world god of fertility, and the statement (of Caesar) probably presupposes a myth, like that found among many primitive peoples, telling how man once lived underground and thence came to the surface of the earth. But it also points to their descent from the god of the underworld. Thither the dead returned to him who was ancestor of the living as well as god of the dead." For all this there is no shadow of warrant in Celtic literature, and it is time that so hypothetical a doctrine should be

given up. A single obscure dictum of Caesar is not sufficient to establish a permanent theory which is not supported by native warrant or tradition. The Irish kings and septs certainly traced their descent from the god or local deity worshipped by their tribe, or from some more universal divinity; but that they believed in an 'underworld from which they came and to which they went at death,' there is, I believe, nothing in the ancient literature to prove. If such a doctrine is given at all, it should be with extreme caution, as a hypothesis, not as a statement of fact. It is a pity to perpetuate a doubtful theory in a popular book.

We sum up a few suggestions that occur to us. In his chapter on *geasa* or tabus, the author omits the tabus belonging to King Conchobhar, which are much the most instructive for his purpose. They will be found in the *Book of Leinster*, fac. pp. 106, 33-197b, 16. On p. 232, he gives the reply of the Celts of Thrace to Alexander the Great (Strabo, Bk. vii, ch. iii, 8) as a hint of a belief in a final cataclysm. But it had no reference to the end of natural things, and was simply an expression, familiar to the Celt of Ireland as of Thrace, of courage and fearlessness. The only sign known to me of an ancient belief in a final catastrophe is in the use once in the *Book of Armagh* of the word *erdathe*, which seems to be a native word applied to the day of doom; but, if such a pagan belief existed, it speedily became absorbed into the universal mediæval Christian doctrine of Doomsday.

The examples given on p. 223 of unnatural unions are largely metaphorical of the union of different qualities, and cannot be taken as proving any state of society in which these conditions were generally practised; some of the practices referred to may, however, be surmised from other sources of information.

To his examples of tree-worship, the author should add the very explicit and interesting example from the poem on Finn's sword in *Duanaire Finn* (Irish Texts Society, vol. vii) speaking of "Eitheor of the smooth brown face" who was called "Son of Hazel," because "this was the hazel that he worshipped" (pp. 36, 137).

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ELEANOR HULL.

THE MAKING OF LONDON. By SIR LAURENCE GOMME. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1912. Cr. 8vo, pp. 256. Ill.

WHEN one takes up a book by Sir Laurence Gomme one is never in any doubt as to whether it is going to be interesting or not. Interesting it is quite certain to be, interesting and stimulating, full of apt illustrations drawn from his encyclopædic knowledge and shedding new light, often from quite unexpected angles, on the subject of which he is treating. The book under review is no exception ; indeed, it is so full of topics of interest to antiquarians and folklorists that it is hard to give any adequate account of it within the limits of a review. Briefly, we are invited to consider how London developed and how her history explains the position which she occupies, and the privileges which she possesses or has possessed. That palæolithic man occupied the site where she stands we know from that classic implement which was found "opposite to Black Mary's, near Grayes Inn Lane," and from a number of other discoveries. That neolithic man was there we may assume, though we have no certain indications of any form of habitation attributable to him. With the bronze-using Celts who settled at the junction of the Fleet with the Thames, we begin to see the first traces of the future city in the pile-dwellings erected in that locality. London was "not only a defensive stronghold of the Celts, but, as the centre of a religious cult, possessed the full life of the Celtic tribesmen" (p. 49). Then came the Romans, and Celtic London was replaced by Roman London, which "must always be considered from the point of view of its position as a city of the Roman empire, not as a city of Britain" (p. 56). The city was dependent for its institutions and its greatness on Rome, and "its position has to be measured by these facts, and not by its geographical position in Britain." As a Roman city it had its *territorium*, and over that area London citizenship has always possessed special rights. What is the next chapter in her history? What happened during that most obscure epoch of history which opens with the departure of the Roman Legions? Did she become a "waste chester" like other Roman cities, or did she preserve some form of life, and, if so, what?

Sir L. Gomme has no doubt on this point. When London ceased to be a Roman city she did not continue as the capital city of a state; if she was anything she was a petty state herself (p. 77). As a small state, so to speak, and on Roman lines, she lived on during the period of the Saxon invasion and occupation. Yet she was able to keep the Danes from entering and occupying her walls, and to make them settle down without those defences. This was not done by Anglo-Saxon organisation, "and the only possible source for such an organization must have been the old Roman system kept up through these years of neglect" (p. 104). Roman London rose with such rapidity that historians have been at a loss to account for her progress. English London emerged so slowly from the mists of the Saxon period that historians have thought that the city for a time had ceased to exist. Sir Laurence explains the first difficulty by pointing out that London, like Winnipeg or Chicago, made extraordinary leaps and bounds of progress when she got the chance in Roman days, and that in later days she was left alone until the moment arrived when Aelfred's genius, recognising the supreme strategical value of her position, brought London into a position of national importance which she has ever since occupied. "Anglo-Saxon kings had ignored London, and London had carried on her existence in a sort of constitutional independence—an independence not granted to her as a matter of state policy, but created by her as a means of existence. Aelfred broke into that independence by bringing London into definite relationship with English national life" (p. 95). Hence Stubbs' view that London sprang into life as a collection of communities is not correct. London herself, the city, according to this thesis preserved her own constitution, her own organization, and this was founded on and descended from the Roman organization when it was an empire city. But where, all this time, were the Anglo-Saxons? Their advance, by way of settlement, commenced at some distance from the city and in the lands surrounding it, and spread inwards, gradually approaching the walls of the city. Of this form of occupation Sir Laurence has much to say, and draws a most interesting picture of Park Lane,—of all places in the world!—when it was made up of acre-strips of cultivation, and

shows how this ancient method of land-division has left its traces upon that far-famed highway.

Next came the Normans and William's charter to the city, nominally a declaration of liberty, actually the commencement of thralldom, if such a term be not too harsh and too strong to apply to the condition of things then inaugurated. At any rate the city had no need to beg for the freedom which she was granted, for she had that already, and the real object of the charter was the assertion of royal rule where doubt as to that rule might have existed. Further, the Norman Castle rose just outside the walls but near enough to exercise its control over the city.

Finally, in our own days, the sovereign is crowned outside the city and asks afterwards for admission into it. "In these two connected ceremonies, coronation at Westminster and admission to the city, we have the last remnants of the ancient constitutional position of London—the monarch elected in English fashion outside the city, and then being admitted within the city in London fashion. The quasi-independence of London could not be better illustrated. It comes to her from her Roman past. It shows that it was the same system of government passing on from Roman to Norman times, not a different system altogether. It dominates her present conception of necessary aloofness from the developed London which surrounds her. It is a factor in modern politics" (p. 197). Such is Sir Laurence's thesis in briefest outline. That it will be accepted point by point by all is perhaps scarcely to be expected, but this may be said, that those who touch his shield for the combat will need to arm themselves for the fray with care, for they have a doughty warrior to meet, and one equipped with a copious armament of facts for the defence of the position of which he is the champion.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

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BEOWULF AND THE FINNSBURG FRAGMENT. A Translation into Modern English Prose. By JOHN R. CLARK HALL. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. lxvi+287. 25 ill. + map.

THERE is no sort of need to emphasise the importance of Beowulf to historians, antiquaries, and students of national life, so that we may confine our notice of this book to stating that it is very clearly printed and well illustrated, and supplied with copious notes and a map illustrating the geography of the poem. The first edition of this translation appeared in 1901, and the present contains the author's revisions and additions. Perhaps one of the most interesting portions of the book, apart from the translation, is the "Index of Things Mentioned in Beowulf"; herein are notes on shields, houses, corselets, and a variety of other things, with a number of illustrations and references to the occurrence of the terms in question in the text of the poem.

There is a copious bibliography of books on Beowulf which will be of great service to students.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF BALLADS. Chosen and edited by ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Sm. 8vo, pp. xxiv+871.

SIR A. Quiller-Couch's name as editor and chooser of this collection of ballads makes for certainty as to its adequacy as a collection from the literary point of view. And from that standpoint, which is, of course, that of the editor and the publishers, we have nothing but praise for this delightful and prepossessing little volume, in which lovers of this form of poetry will find all their old favourites. Personally, and still from this point of view, we may venture to express our great appreciation of Book IV., which consists of carols and such like songs. What could be more splendid in this *genre* than "Jolly Wat," or "I Saw Three Ships," or "The Twelve Good Joys"?

But from the folklore point of view also, though that was not

the first object of the book, there are a hundred and one allusions which are of great interest to students of that branch of learning.

Let me quote the "one," for it brings back to my memory the echoes of the "fairy controversy" and Mr. MacRitchie's use of the quotation in his *Testimony of Tradition* :

"I am a man, upo' the lan',  
An' I am a silkie in the sea ;  
And when I'm far and far frae lan'  
My dwelling is in Sule Skerrie."

There are plenty of such passages for the folklorist to delight himself with.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

LES RELIQUES ET LES IMAGES LÉGENDAIRES. Par P. SAINTYVES.  
Paris : Mercure de France, 1912.

M. SAINTYVES is already known to students of comparative religion by his books on Supernatural Birth and on the Saints as cultural successors of pagan divinities. In the present volume he treats of relics and sacred images to which a tradition of miraculous origin attaches. His subject is not entirely confined to Christian relics and images. One chapter is devoted to relics of Buddha, and frequent reference for purposes of comparison is made to Buddhism and to the paganism of classical antiquity in the other chapters.

Here, as in his former works, the author is preoccupied by the continuity of religious ideas and practices. The *Ficus Religiosa* was a sacred Hindu tree before Gautama obtained enlightenment beneath its branches ; and Mr. Crooke is quoted to show that it is still the sacred tree of modern Brahmanism. The footprints of the Buddha were almost all originally attributed to Vishnu ; and the honour has, since Buddhism has been driven out of Hindustan, reverted to the ancient god. The worship of talismans and relics fallen from heaven, widely practised in Europe, is deduced from the veneration of aeroliths and weapons of the Stone Age current

among the pagan nations of antiquity. Although M. Saintyves does not hesitate to charge conscious forgery in many cases of such relics, he shows that that is only what the most orthodox ecclesiastics have done before him. The spirit in which he writes is that of regret that the cultural recognition of these objects should be tolerated by the Church. He indulges the hope "that this somewhat scandalous exposure may serve to hasten the day when Catholicism, once one of the hearths and homesteads of the ideal in the world, shall abandon all these false relics. A fair woman who has been covered with false jewels will deign to wear them no longer the day she learns that they are nothing but poor glass beads."

The subject is one on which a large book might well be written. M. Saintyves has made a small one, not for want of erudition, but in order to put his argument concisely. In this form it will appeal to many besides avowed students of tradition, who would not have time, nor perhaps patience, to read a longer work. The authorities on which he relies are duly cited at the foot of the page. The author's attention, however, should be called to an apparent confusion of dates on pp. 174-5. A certain relic is said to have been found thirty years after the sack of Rome (1527), that is to say, in 1557. "Some thirty years after its discovery,"—that is to say, about 1587,—ladies of quality having demanded to see it, a miracle took place, which is said to have drawn attention to the relic, and "*cette même année 1559*" a further miracle took place. Ought the words "*quelque trente ans*" to be read *quelque deux ans*, or should the date when the further miracle took place be 1589?

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE FAIRY FAITH IN CELTIC COUNTRIES. By W. Y. EVANS WENTZ. Henry Frowde, 1911. 8vo, pp. xxviii + 524.

"Do fairies exist? and if so, can we see them?" are the questions which Dr. Evans Wentz sets forth to answer in *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries*. In order to collect material for the book which contains his reply, Dr. Wentz tells us that he first, on coming to

this country from America, spent a year at Oxford under the guidance of Sir John Rhÿs, and then travelled in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Brittany, penetrating later into the Celtic fringe of Cornwall and Man, visiting in every case the most remote parts, and collecting from cottagers and wanderers tales, dreams, legends, and traditions. The material so gathered he has arranged under the headings of the different countries, each division being prefaced by an introduction written by a representative folklorist from the country under consideration. Thus we have brought together a considerable mass of folk-legend, some of it new, and a series of brief pronouncements on the subject of fairies by Dr. Douglas Hyde, M. Anatole Le Braz, Sir John Rhÿs, Dr. Carmichael, Mr. Henry Jenner, and Miss Sophie Morrison, for which, quite apart from any conclusions or theories by the author himself, we have to thank him. All this is solid gain.

The arrangement of the book into countries, though probably the best that could be devised, has the corresponding disadvantage of breaking up material that, if placed side by side, would have helped to elucidate the subject, and has, we think, prevented the author himself from seeing as clearly as he otherwise might have done certain points of connection which would have helped to determine his conclusions. It must have been disappointing to him to find that, out of his six chief authorities, only two, Mr. Jenner and Miss Morrison, and these tentatively, confess to any sort of personal fairy belief, though all are ready enough to chronicle the fairy faith of others. Like the author himself, the remaining two agree to a small residue of belief when the major portions of the testimony have been explained away. Personally, I think that, in the case of his peasant contributors, an even larger margin of deduction must be made for the effects of solitude, and of reflection and imagination moving in very limited circles, for the strength of tradition, and for the results of special kinds of landscape upon the mind. It is undoubted that certain types of scenery produce certain kinds of character and temperament; in Ireland or the wilder parts of Gaelic Scotland the soft dreamy atmosphere, the moving cloudland, the perpetual mist, induce a spectral feeling; the difficulty is not to see fairies, it is to help seeing them, crowding in multitudes, as the Gael sees them, on every thorn-bush, or

beneath every wave. The curious and instructive thing is, that the Breton, living in a very similar atmosphere and scenery, does not see fairies, he only sees ghosts. To my own mind, it is along the path of enquiry suggested by this fact, which the author under the guidance of Dr. Anatole Le Braz has touched upon, but of which he has not, we think, sufficiently considered all the bearings, that the true explanation of much of the fairy faith is to be found. As regards the testimony of the Irish "seer" upon which Dr. Wentz lays so much stress, more deduction is perhaps to be made for the effects of a pose than he would admit. We do not doubt that the "seer" sees fairies, but we cannot forget that it is interesting to be thought to do so. In his conclusions, Dr. Wentz follows, in general, the hypothesis of M. Flammarion in his *Mysterious Psychic Forces*. In that book he says,—“Either it is we who produce these phenomena, (and this, Dr. Wentz adds, ‘is not reasonable’) or it is spirits. But mark this well: these spirits are not necessarily the souls of the dead; for other kinds of spiritual beings may exist, and space may be full of them without our ever knowing anything about it, except under unusual circumstances. Do we not find in the different ancient literatures, demons, angels, gnomes, goblins, sprites, spectres, elementals, etc.? Perhaps these legends are not without some foundation of fact.”

We do not know why Dr. Wentz interjects ‘this is not reasonable,’ considering that one of the most satisfactory explanations of many psychic phenomena is that we do, under certain conditions, ‘produce the phenomena’ ourselves, *i.e.* that they are subjective, not objective. But, putting this aside, we confess to a sense of humiliation in the suggestion that the Banshee, or the Ankou, or the Washer at the Ford, or the Hopper-noz, personages whom we have always believed took an intimate personal interest in the affairs of mankind, attached themselves to his destiny, and forewarned him of his fate, should be mixed up and confounded with the ignorant and senseless ‘spooks,’ without heart or cohesion of idea, who agitate tables, make our sponges walk up and down our walls, or otherwise behave in the aimless manner of idiots. Fairies, in Ireland at least, have ideas of cleanliness and order which would put a sanitary inspector to shame, and their sense of morality

is often far in advance of that of the people among whom they condescend to dwell. The idea that "we must explain it somehow" leads to strange theories.

While fully recognizing the value of the data collected by Dr. Wentz and his own enthusiasm and simplicity of purpose, we think his conclusions might have been more convincing had he followed another trend of thought, that which we have indicated above, or which is suggested by the instructive application to the same mounds in Ireland of the words *uamh* (a cave, or tomb), *brugh* (a dwelling-place), and *sidh* (a fairy-haunt). The connection between the buried inhabitant of the tomb and the still living spirit or fairy power presiding within it must never be forgotten. Beyond this, for other sections of the wide-embracing fairy belief we may quote Dr. Hyde's words from his introductory essay,—“If we concede the real objective existence of, let us say, the apparently well-authenticated ‘banshee,’ where are we to stop? for any number of beings, more or less well authenticated, come crowding on her heels, so many, indeed, that they would point to a far more extensive world of different shapes than is usually suspected, not to speak of inanimate objects like the coach and ship. Of course there is nothing inherently impossible in all these shapes existing any more than in any one of them existing, but they all seem to me to rest upon the same kind of testimony, stronger in the case of some, less strong in the case of others, and it is as well to point out this clearly” (p. 26).

ELEANOR HULL.

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SPECIMENS OF BUSHMAN FOLKLORE. Collected by the late W. H. I. BLEEK and L. C. LLOYD. Edit. by the latter. Intro. by GEORGE M'CALL THEAL. Translation into English, illustrations, and Appendix. George Allen & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. xl + 468. Col. and other ill.

HITHERTO the only trustworthy account of Bushman folklore accessible to students, (and that only to a few who are the happy possessors of the rare copies that exist), has been comprised in

the late Dr. Bleek's two reports and Miss Lloyd's further report to the Cape Government printed after his death. It is consequently a great boon, for which we have long been looking almost in despair, to have an instalment *in extenso* of the texts so painfully collected years ago by the Father of Bantu philology and his devoted sister-in-law. Dr. Theal has contributed an admirable introduction on Bushman migrations and on Dr. Bleek's work in rescuing their language and folklore from oblivion. Miss Lloyd's preface supplies details on the latter subject and the necessary explanations, so far as it is possible to supply them in print, of the clicks and other phonetic peculiarities indicated in the texts.

Many sides of Bushman life are illustrated in the volume before us. Not the least interesting are the naïve and touching accounts, dictated by the poor fellow whose name is translated "Dream," of his capture and imprisonment, his kindness to his brother's orphan child, and his affection for his family and home. These bespeak for an outcast race a measure of human sympathy essential to the complete understanding of its thoughts and aspirations, of its organisation and inner experiences.

For students of philology, the printing of the Bushman texts face to face with the English rendering and that of the parsing of a portion of the tale of the Resurrection of the Ostrich are valuable. For students of folklore, if there are any beside Miss Lloyd and her nieces who are initiated in the mysteries of the Bushman tongue, they may be occasionally useful. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that the texts and parsing have been printed. And it is probably desirable that all the rest of the texts should be printed too. It is assuredly desirable that the translations should be printed. But it is not necessary for students either of philology or folklore that the remaining texts should be printed face to face. Space might be saved in future by printing them either at the foot of the page or in an appendix in smaller type. Many of the remaining texts appear to be of great interest; some few, (such as the Hottentot legends referred to in Dr. Bleek's Report of 1875), are of none, except possibly for philological purposes. It would be an irreparable loss if the former were not made available to anthropological students. Somewhat

fuller notes are also required for the elucidation of Bushman customs and modes of thought. Miss Lloyd is probably the only living person who can explain them. I have looked in vain for any account of Birth Rites, Marriage Customs, the superstitions connected with Death and the Dead, Family relationships, Taboos, and so forth, on which our information is lamentably vague. May I appeal to Miss Lloyd to publish translations of the remaining texts, and to illustrate them with notes on these important subjects? This would be to render the utmost service to anthropological science. Few peoples in the world are in so nearly primitive a condition as the Bushmen; and with the present generation they will to all intents and purposes have passed away. It is therefore urgent to put on record whatever may be known about them; all the more urgent, since the knowledge is in the possession of so few of the white race.

The Bushman mythology, as represented by the stories here, is concerned chiefly with animals, with the heavenly bodies, and with the men of an early race said to have preceded the Bushmen in the occupation of the land. The legends concerning the early race are very obscure. We are reminded of the Alcheringa ancestors of the Arunta. It does not indeed appear that the early race were progenitors of the Bushmen. They are sufficiently modern, according to Miss Lloyd's Report of 1889, to be contemporary with the Korannas. Their deeds are indistinguishable from those of the Bushmen; nor, so far as I have discovered, is there any account of how they ceased to exist. The suspicion, therefore, is aroused that the expression "the early race" merely covers the Alcheringa ancestors (if I may use the phrase) of the present Bushmen. This is a question on which Miss Lloyd may be able to throw some light.

Of animal tales some of the myths of the mantis have been published elsewhere; but they are here in authoritative form. The myths of the ant-eater have been reserved for the present. They are perhaps as valuable as those of the mantis. I am not sure whether they may not be even more illuminating, since it appears from Dr. Bleek's Report of 1875 that the ant-eater legislated (at least for the lower animals) on food, marriage, and other habits. Hints of totemism are hardly discoverable elsewhere; they may



be found here. Miss Lloyd printed two myths of the wind in the *South African Folklore Journal* many years ago. They are here reprinted with minor corrections, and the full text of an additional statement by the narrator. The wind is of course anthropomorphised. Its name must not be mentioned, or it will blow violently. This it can only do by lying down and kicking; and the accompanying noise is the sound of its knee. The Milky Way was made by a girl throwing wood-ashes into the sky. The Bushmen were great observers of the stars, and myths concerning them are numerous. The student will be grateful for all that is here told us relating to the girls' puberty customs, though both Dr. Bleek's Report and Miss Lloyd's own suggest that there is more to be known. Had the boys none likewise? We get various hints on the Bushman religion; but on this subject the texts (as translated) do not carry us very far. The rites at the rising of Canopus and Sirius and those paid to the moon are very important. Dr. Bleek tells us that no rites seem to be paid to the mantis; were none paid to any other animal? The story of the Origin of Death as here given differs widely (as Dr. Bleek notes) from the Hottentot version, though with curious resemblances which suggest that the two are not wholly independent. Other interesting texts are those on hunting observances, the treatment of the bones of game, presentiments, the making of pottery,—(was there any secrecy about it as among the Suk of British East Africa? and what is the meaning of the use of spring-bok's blood?),—rain and thunderstorms, and many other matters that the student will discover for himself. The plates with which the book abounds are excellent. The photographs and the chromoliths of the narrators preserve traits that we would not willingly lose. The native drawings add very much to the value of the volume.

It is earnestly to be hoped that this volume will be followed at an early date by the remainder of the material. Its speedy publication will be a pious work, due to the memory of Dr. Bleek, and not less due to that of a luckless race unable to adapt itself to civilisation, and therefore shattered by the contact. The value to science will be enormous. If the commercial value of the work proves to be inadequate, owing to the small demand in

proportion to the expense, then here I venture to suggest is a case for the help of the Folk-Lore Society.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE TAILED HEAD-HUNTERS OF NIGERIA. By Major A. J. N. TREMEARNE. Seeley, Service & Co., 1912. 8vo, pp. xvi + 342.

THE value of this account of experiences among a savage race lies in the fact that the author has qualified for the diploma of anthropology in the University of Cambridge. Three chapters are devoted to Customs and Superstitions, one to Courtship, Marriage, Divorce, and Childbirth, and one to Hausa folklore, all of which deserve study. The custom of head-hunting he explains by the belief that the ghosts of the victims must serve the slayer in the next world, this advantage being also gained to the living from skulls thoughtfully collected by their pious ancestors. He gives some details of initiation rites which do not disclose much intimate knowledge. If a child be an idiot or cripple it is drowned; "if after you have thrown him into the water, you go away, and then come back silently and hide yourself, you will see the child lengthen out until it becomes a snake."

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A GLOSSARY OF THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE PUNJAB AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE. By H. A. ROSE. Lahore, 1911. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. iv + 573.

THIS is the first instalment of an important work, which promises to supply for the Punjab an account of its people similar to those already issued in the course of the Ethnographical Survey for Bengal, Madras, and the United Provinces. A second volume will complete the Glossary, and a third will contain a reprint of the valuable ethnographical chapters contributed to the Census Reports of 1881 and 1891 by the late Sir D. Ibbetson and

Mr. E. D. MacLagan. Mr. Rose's book modestly announces itself as based on these authorities, but, as might have been expected, he has added much important information collected by himself.

The Punjab, as a field for ethnographical enquiry, is more interesting than might have been expected. In the plain country, it is true, Brahmanism and Islam, now the predominant religions, have obliterated much of the primitive beliefs; but it must be remembered that the province lay outside the bounds of the Holy Land of the Hindus, and, as was shown in later days by the rise of Sikhism, the people never came so completely under priestly control as was the case in the Ganges Valley. In its hill tribes, also, partly of Tibetan origin, partly refugees from the plains, there is an interesting opportunity for exploration of primitive beliefs and usages.

Mr. Rose's book is purely ethnographical; he does not attempt to deal with physical types, possibly because he has realized that craniometry is not a satisfactory test of race. The tribal history from the earliest times is a record of constant migrations, by which the elements out of which the present population has grown have become so inextricably mixed that it is almost hopeless to attempt to discriminate them. The chapters which fall within the present volume on the more important tribes,—Brahmans, Chuhars, Gujars, Jats, Khattris,—are full of interesting matter connected with religion, rites and ceremonies, folklore, and superstitions, to which it is impossible to refer in detail. The completion of the work will be awaited by all anthropologists with interest, and it must rank as one of the most valuable contributions to the knowledge of the Indian races.

If I may venture to add a word or two of criticism, I would suggest that, as the book will be widely used by students unfamiliar with Indian dialects, the text should be, as far as possible, relieved of the numerous vernacular terms which serve only to embarrass the reader. It is only necessary to give these in parentheses, and thus many of the numerous footnotes would be no longer required. Secondly, it would be advisable to give cross-references to accounts of those Punjab tribes which have been described in other volumes of the series. The new series of Gazetteers of Rajputana and the United Provinces might have

been used with advantage. Lastly, a protest may be allowed on the *format* of the book. When a hard-worked official, with little or no extra remuneration for work of this kind, devotes to it his scanty leisure, the least he may reasonably expect is that his book shall appear in a respectable form, and not with the inferior paper and second-rate printing which the Government has provided in the present case. In this age of cheap reproductions of photographs a series of illustrations of typical castes and tribes would have made it much more valuable to readers unfamiliar with the Indian peoples.

W. CROOKE.

THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. I. By L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER. Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1909. 8vo, pp. xxx + 366. Jll.

USHERED into the world as this book is under the auspices of Dr. Beddoe, who writes a preface, and of Dr. Keane, who writes an introduction, anything of the nature of criticism of its contents is surely audacious. But audacious we must be, for we cannot accept and assimilate it every word, assured of its scrupulous accuracy in the region of fact, and we must face the risks. The author, quaintly spoken of by Dr. Beddoe and also by Dr. Keane as "Mr. Iyer,"—which, by the way, is a designation and not a name at all,<sup>1</sup>—treats separately of the Kâtars, —called by him Kadars,—inhabiting the dense forest and the outskirts of the hills forming part of the Western Ghats which lie within the Cochin State, as well as of peoples of the lower castes of the plains,—some at length, as in the case of the Izhuvans to whom 65 pages are devoted, and some briefly. Photographs of all are supplied, and from these it is easy to believe that with few exceptions the peoples here described are allied in blood to each other and scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the ordinary Madras Malas, or Pariahs, who are genuine Dravidians. Dr. Keane thinks they reveal

<sup>1</sup> "Iyer" is merely an affix to a name signifying the particular sub-sect of the Tamil Brahmans to which a man belongs.

"Negrito traits in a very striking manner." There seems to be, nevertheless, some resemblance to the Arunta. Is it mere coincidence that, while the head men of the Arunta are *pinnarus*, the ancestral spirits of the Dravidians all along the line, from the Khonds southwards, are *penmu*, or pinnu? Also that the regular Dravidian rule of marriage, (and not only Dravidian in S. India), is identical with that of some of the Australian tribes,—that a young man should marry his mother's elder brother's daughter? Amongst the Koravas an outsider wishing to marry a girl must make a specific payment to the boy who has this right to her before he can marry her.

Dr. Keane's discourse is, of course, full of interest, but in dealing with the question of Negroid blood in S. India what does he mean in saying that "black blood is conspicuous" amongst the Kolarians? For the Savaras, one of the two peoples of S. India always spoken of as true Kolarians, (who live, by the by, about 900 miles away from the Cochin State), are distinctly fair, even when compared with the Aryan Uriyas (mixed, no doubt, with Dravidian blood) of the plains below them; I mean the genuine Savaras, of the inmost hills rarely penetrated by any European on account of inaccessibility and deadly fever, and not the black-looking mongrels called Savaras who are found on the fringes of the hills. He is right in classing this distinctly Mongoloid people quite apart from Dravidians, but, as their language has never yet been mastered by any European, perhaps, after all, the term Kolarian as applied to the Savaras may be fanciful. At all events they are not black or Negroid.

Perhaps he will speak of them in a succeeding volume, but in the one before us no mention is made of the Koravas,—not west coast people or natives of the State it is true, as they came generations ago from the eastward, but quite as much so as many who are described in this book as such; for the Koravas, who are found all over the middle and south of India, from beyond Indore to Cape Comorin, designated variously, even so markedly so as Erikalas and Yanâdis in what is practically the same locality, but *always* found to be subdivided into the same four sub-tribal divisions, are the only people of South India,—and perhaps in all India,—who practise the couvade. We cannot, therefore,

but feel disappointment that they are not mentioned in this book.

It would have added to the interest of the book had the author told us how he collected his facts, whether through the medium of others or face to face, for it would seem from internal evidence that many of them came through the former channel; for example, his Kâtars do not appear to be the genuine folk of the forest fastnesses where the wild elephant is at home in huge herds, where, indeed, it is scarcely possible for a Brahman to penetrate while preserving his caste, owing to difficulties in procuring cooked food and because of unavoidable contact with people who, from his point of view, are vilely impure. A striking peculiarity about the Kâtars is that they alone of all the peoples of South India malfarm their teeth; they hack the front teeth into points, thus making them resemble the teeth of a shark. Many of the customs described are not peculiar to the people in connection with whom they are mentioned. It is, of course, always a difficult matter to determine whether a custom or a feature in a ceremony, and so on, is really one which has grown up, as it were, with people of the most inferior castes, who, having little grit or character of their own, are always apeing their betters. It is only in salient points of certain ceremonies, especially those connected with birth, marriage, death, *i.e.* in fact those most deeply imbued with their nature, that we may hope to find something really their own; and, unfortunately, this is just where the author fails us. Thus, in describing the Puliya's marriage ceremony he does not say *who* ties the bride's *tālī* (the marriage token). The bridegroom's friend tightens it, but who ties it? And there is omission of ceremonies which are strictly peculiar to a caste; *e.g.*, when speaking of the Kammâlans, he disappoints by leaving out the one in which the Kammâlan (carpenter) is and must be the protagonist in the charming and, of course, interesting prelude to habitation of every new house. It is rather staggering to be told that the Nayâdis are skilful hunters! It is true they may, as the author expresses it, "hunt" toads and tortoises, but hunters in the English sense they certainly are not. It is difficult to convey to the mind of the Englishman at home the condition of utter degradation in which the Nayâdis are, not only in the Cochin State, but in British India.

One is apt to think the king's highway free to all and everyone. It is not so at all, and people who are even higher in the social scale than Nayâdis dare not use it on the ultra-conservative south-west coast of India. As for the Nayâdis, their sole métier in life is standing in the fields 100 to 150 yards away from a high-road, howling at the top of their voices to passers-by to throw alms into their little cloth, which is spread out by the roadside. When no one is in sight, the Nayâdi runs and collects his harvest of small copper coins. A Nayâdi cannot approach a Brahman nearer than 300 feet without polluting him; that is to say, a Brahman finding himself ever so little within this distance from the Nayâdi would be obliged to bathe and change his clothes, putting on clean ones, and performing various ceremonies before he could mix with his fellows, enter his house, partake of food, or engage in any of the ordinary affairs of life. And, of course, if a Nayâdi were to approach a Brahman within ordinary conversation distance, the consequences to the latter would be unspeakable. It is odd that it is the young male Nayâdi, and not the female, who wears a token denoting eligibility for marriage; a fact not found in this book. Although the bride price is only one rupee (one shilling and fourpence), the young Nayâdi is often obliged to wear for a long time his white shell ring, suspended to a string, round his neck. One does not wish to multiply omissions, however important, but there is one more which it would be as well, perhaps, to state here. It is this, and probably a sign of racial differentiation; the people of all the very inferior castes of the plains, as well as the genuine hill folk of the Malabar coast, are unable to pronounce the Malayâli guttural 'r,' transliterated by 'zh'; they make it 'l.' It is always so, even though the Malayâli language has been the vernacular for generations. Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer speaks of the Puliyans as Hindus; but they are never classed as Hindus: the line between Hindus and those outside the pale is drawn far above Puliyans. He classes Tîyyans and Chôvans with Izhuvans. It is invariably a claim of the latter that they are identical with the Tîyyans, but surely there is racial difference between, say, the N. Malabar Tîyyan, whose stature averages 165.0, and nasal index 77.7°, and the Izhuvan, whose stature is 159.6, and nasal index 82°? The Chovans are probably lower in the scale; there has

never been opportunity to measure them. Among the Tiyyans are to be seen government officers of position and vakils, while the Chovan women wear a skirt of grass.

The mantras which are given on pp. 166, 167, and the tables of predictions on pp. 203 etc., of good or bad fortune following pubescence on certain days, according to months, weeks, and period of the lunar asterism when the symptoms were first observed, are interesting. So, too, is it that at the *tâli*-tying ceremony, symbolic of marriage, the parties of the Kammâlan bride and of the bridegroom vie with each other in singing indecent songs. The book is distinctly interesting, but it is not a very safe guide.

F. FAWCETT.

RUINS OF DESERT CATHAY. Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China. By M. AUREL STEIN. 2 vols. Macmillan, 1912. 8vo, pp. xxxviii + 546, xxi + 517. 333 ill., xiii colour plates and panoramic views, and 3 maps.

FORTUNATELY it is neither necessary nor permissible here to deal with most of the matter contained in the eleven hundred and odd pages of these two splendidly illustrated volumes. Any review must be swollen to inordinate length by more than a casual notice of the geographical explorations and surveys during two years and a half in Chinese Turkestan and Kansu; of the moving tale of adventures amidst cowardly Chinese and truculent Turki mutineers, and in crossing the thirsty Sea of Sand, scrambling through well-nigh impassable river gorges, and finally wading thigh-deep through snows which crippled the author with frost-bite; and of the archæological and artistic investigations which continued and extended for nearly a thousand miles eastwards those detailed in the two magnificent volumes of *Ancient Khotan*.

Greek arts and ideas of classical times were spread in many ways of war and peace from the west of Europe to the centre of Asia. The ships of Sennacherib bore Greek sailors down the



Euphrates, and Alexander's conquests seated Greek culture in north-west India and Bactria. But the Chinese acquisition, at the end of the second century B.C., of part of Bactria opened a fresh outlet for a flood of Greek influence which caused the sudden blossoming of Chinese art under the emperor Wu Ti, and was only stayed by the shores of the Pacific, leaving behind it even in far Japan such unmistakable traces of its passage as the familiar Grecian Key ornament. This classical current took its course through the age-long caravan route between East and West over which Marco Polo journeyed and around which has lain Sir Marc Stein's work on his two expeditions of 1900-1 and 1907-9.

The indebtedness to Greece of ancient Persia has been a commonplace, but there is still much to learn about that of China, and the study of that Asian culture-complex in which Hellenic, Indian, and Chinese elements were mingled and Buddhism and various forms of Christianity strove for mastery will gain enormously from Sir Marc's excavations of documents in several languages with classical seals and Græco-Buddhist wood carvings and frescoes, when these have been fully reported upon by the army of scholars to which they are now affording employment. Discussing his finds, the author suggests (vol. i., p. 476), with much probability, that the non-Oriental winged angels he illustrates from Miran are affected by early Christian iconography. Other figures from the same site resemble the Greek Eros and Persian Mithras, and frescoes of the Jātaka legend of King Vessantara are inscribed as the work of Tita,—obviously Titus, a Westerner.

The most remarkable acquisitions, however, were won, not by digging, but by diplomacy exercised upon a wary but corruptible Taoist priest at the sacred "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas," to the south-east of Tun-huang, where a honeycomb of cells showed Indian and Greek influences in their fresco work and stucco statuary of the date of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). About five years before Sir Marc's visit, there was accidentally discovered an immense mass of manuscript etc. rolls concealed in a rock chamber apparently walled off from the passage of one of the cave-temples in fear of invasion early in the eleventh century of our era. Some of the writings date back to the third century, and one antedates printing from wooden blocks to at least A.D. 860.

Sir Marc, aided by his Chinese secretary, after long and skilful negotiations, spread over many days and at different times, bore away about 9000 manuscripts in Chinese, and others in Tibetan, Iranian, Sanskrit, Old Turkish, and unknown languages, a collection of moral tales of animals and men in Runic Turki and not later than the eighth century, and, above all, a roll containing the Confession-prayer of the Manichæan layman. The last named is at present the only complete document known to exist of the faith of the Persian who called himself the Paraclete, though Dr. von Lecocq obtained fragments of both Manichæan and Nestorian texts in his excavations at Turfan in 1904-7. In addition to writings, Sir Marc obtained over 300 religious pictures, painted or embroidered on silk and linen (mostly dating from the seventh to ninth centuries), *ex votos* and temple banners of silk and brocades, and many other art relics. This mass of material must solve, and raise, many problems, and cannot fail to yield results of the greatest importance to the study of culture drift and of the history of religion.

The persistence of sacred rites and sites is often illustrated. At the desert station of the (Mohammedan) "Pigeons' Shrine" holy birds are now fed in place of the sacred rats of Buddhist days (vol. i., p. 161). Amongst the Kirghiz of the Turfan region, a shrine with the usual Mohammedan votive offerings also contains a slab carved with a male figure holding a curved sword, said to depict the wife of Kaz-ata, an ancient hero himself represented by an inaccessible rock pinnacle above the shrine,—an indubitable relic of a more primitive worship (vol. ii., p. 425).

Turning to non-religious folklore, one regrets very much that the author's time and objects did not allow him to hunt after superstitions and traditions as diligently as he did after river sources and antique frescoes. Evidently living folklore was even more abundant than the archæological remains for which at times he raked over ancient but still evil-smelling rubbish heaps, and we pick up from his casual notes stray ears from the great sheaves that might have been reaped. In one place he himself exclaims (vol. i., p. 39),—"What a rich harvest could be gathered here by the student of old customs and folk-lore!" When he sees a polo game at Chitral he remarks that "plenty of fairies were said to

have been seen flitting round the polo ground at the previous match played two days before" (vol. i., p. 36), and that their appearance foreboded deaths and violent events. The defeated side in the same game has to dance for the amusement of the victors, and shortly afterwards he sees a Kafir dance in which small axes are whirled. He is visited by a Mongol who will not face the camera (vol. i., p. 468), and his followers are disturbed at night by the sound of dragons (vol. ii., p. 321), and believe in "'old towns' buried by the sands, and full of hidden treasure," guarded by demons and not to be found a second time, (a legend referred to by the traveller Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century). His Chinese secretary, when bringing to An-hsi the corpse of a companion who has died on a journey, burns "a well-penned prayer to the dead man's spirit, asking him to preserve the corpse in fair condition for a week [till a coffin can be got] and to prevent a breakdown of their cart" (vol. ii., pp. 340-1). One record left by a Tibetan garrison of a thousand years ago specifies a medicine of "boiled sheep's dung mixed with butter, barley-flour, and other savoury ingredients." Such chance items whet the appetite for a more connected account of Central Asian folklore.

For physical anthropologists Sir Marc supplies many valuable photographs ranging from the Chitrali representatives of the *Homo Alpinus* to the western Chinese, and has made numerous records which will see the light later. It is noteworthy that, even under the elaborate Chinese civilisation of the third century, fire was still made by churning or rotating wooden pegs in blocks. Around the towers of the ancient frontier wall near Tun-huang were found tallies, gambling or divination cubes, and broken earthenware mended by string and leather thongs laced through holes, mixed with records dated in the first century; and elsewhere domestic furniture and appliances of early periods were unearthed. From the cave-temple hoard already mentioned came ancient damasks with Western patterns, probably prepared specially for export like the "Old Japan Ware" treasured at Dresden (vol. ii., pp. 209-10).

In conclusion, one is glad to find that in transliterating non-Chinese names the diacritical marks which are so irritating and useless to non-expert readers have been omitted. The volumes

before us contain a great mass of fascinating narratives of exploration, adventure, and archæology, and it is to be hoped that an abridged edition at a popular price will be issued later to interest the general public in Sir Marc Stein's remarkable discoveries.

A. R. WRIGHT.

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SHORT NOTICES.

*Some Zulu Customs and Folklore.* By L. H. SAMUELSON (Nomleti). The Church Printing Co., Burleigh Street, Strand, W.C., 1912. Sm. 8vo, pp. xii + 83.

THIS unassuming little book, by a missionary's daughter who has lived for many years in Zululand, gives in a simple and interesting manner accounts of weddings, burials, feasts, and many other matters, and concrete, and therefore valuable, examples of the working of such native customs as slaying twins, "sending home" the aged, and sacrificing to spirits. There are also accounts of the *inkata* or palladium of a tribe, of the weeping of the girls on the day of the Heavenly Princess, a specimen of the mazes drawn on the ground, etc., etc. Miss Samuelson's book is worth a place in every folklore library.

*The Mother of the Gods.* The Oldest Religious Symbol of the Cultured World. By FITZ SIEGMUND DHU. Hugh Rees Ltd., 1911. 8vo, pp. x + 151. Ill.

THIS volume is not what might be expected from its title,—a study of the myths of Rhea, Cybele, etc.,—but its interest is for the seeker after the curious. It suggests that in the Land of Woe (Poland) arose the beginnings of civilization and the Primitive Empire, to which "refer all cosmogonies, all the myths, mythologies, and mythical conditions of humanity." Yggdrasil is "neither the tree of knowledge nor the tree of life, but only the genealogical tree"; Heimdall is the patriarch Noah; amulet "means the sign A, or in Lithuanian, the clover"; and so on.

*Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum.* Von EUGEN FEHRLE.  
Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1910. 8vo, pp. xii + 250.

WE regret that there has been no earlier opportunity to draw attention to the valuable series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* issued under the direction of R. Wünsch and L. Deubner. The first volume (*Attis: Seine Mythen und sein Kult*) appeared in 1903, and that before us is numbered sixth, although later than that in order of appearance. The volumes deal, mainly historically and for classical antiquity, with augury, judgment of the dead, star beliefs, magic, exorcisms, possession, birthday festivities, healing by incubation etc., transmission of cults, and like matters. The present dissertation presents, with a Teutonic wealth of reference and quotation, chastity as a necessary consequence of nearness to a deity and as a source of supernatural power, and gives detailed accounts of vows of sexual abstinence and of rites (such as the Thesmophoria) in which abstinence played a part, etc., etc.

*Aus dem Lande Fritz Reuters.* Humor in Sprache und Volkstum Mecklenburgs. Mit ein Einleitung . . von Prof. Dr. R. WOSSIDLO. Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 3 Rossplatz, 1910. Sm. 8vo, pp. iv + 211.

DR. WOSSIDLO celebrates in a very fitting way the centenary of "unser Reuter" by giving us these charming glimpses of the merry side of the Mecklenburgers, their drolls and jests of all kinds at play and work, their nicknames for people and playing cards, their sayings and beast märchen, and, in fact, their intimate selves. The introductory section of 39 pages, with its account of the methods of gathering the author's material from the mouths of the people, can be read with much profit by other collectors. We cordially commend the book to all lovers of folklore and of folk-wit.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
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57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

# Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19th, 1912.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. R. Fiennes Herbert, Mr. W. Jarmain, and Miss E. C. Vansittart as members of the Society, was announced.

The death of M. Camille de Brix was also announced.

The Chairman announced that Miss E. Canziani was very kindly inviting members of the Society to her house on Saturday, July 6th, from 4 to 7 p.m., to see her collection of objects of interest from Savoy and Italy.

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers read a paper entitled "The Sociological Significance of Myth" (pp. 307-31), and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Dr. Haddon, Dr. Westermarck, Mr. T. C. Hodson, Dr. Gaster, and Miss Burne took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Rivers for his paper.

The Secretary reported the following additions to the Society's Library:—

By exchange:—*Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. xxx., fasc. iv.;  
*A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages*, by J. O.

Dorsey and J. R. Swanton (including texts and translations of 31 folk-tales); *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (The Omaha Tribe, by Alice C. Fletcher and F. La Flesche);

By the Governments of India:—*The Kacháris*, by the late Rev. S. Endle; *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle* (1911) (United Provinces); *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle* (1911); *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1910-1*; *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle, for 1910-1*; *Classified Catalogue of the Library of the Director General of Archæology, Supplement 1*; *The Conference of Orientalists including Museums and Archæology, Conference held at Simla, July, 1911*; *Government of Madras, G.O., No. 832, 1911*, (progress report on epigraphy, Southern Circle); *Report on the Administration of the Government Museum and Connemara Public Library* (1910-1);

By authors, publishers, and reviewers:—*Aristotle's Researches in Natural Science*, by T. E. Lones, (West, Newman, & Co.); *Catalogo della Mostra di Etnografia Italiana in Piazza d'Armi*; *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol. i., by L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, (Government of Cochin); *Le Légendaire du Mont St. Michel*, by Etienne Dupont, (Robt. Duval, Paris); *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, (Clarendon Press); *Some Zulu Customs and Folk-Lore*, by L. H. Samuelson, (Church Printing Co.);

By the editor:—*The Every Day Book*, by William Hone, 2 vols.

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## THE VENERATION OF THE COW IN INDIA.

BY W. CROOKE, B.A.

(*Read at Meeting, November 15th, 1911.*)

ONLY those who have gained personal experience of the races of India can realize the widespread influence of the veneration of the sacred cow. In other countries, of course, we meet with instances where, like domesticated animals generally, she is the object of a profound respect, often developing into actual worship.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in Phrygia, the slaying of an ox or the destruction of an agricultural implement was punishable with death.<sup>2</sup> Pliny tells us that the Romans executed, just as though he had slain one of his tenants, a man who killed an ox to gratify his foolish concubine, who complained that she had never tasted tripe.<sup>3</sup> The respect for the cow and other domesticated animals is well marked among many modern savage and semi-savage tribes, such as the Kenyahs of Sarawak, and the Herero, Bantu, Damara, and Masai in

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (2nd ed.), pp. 296 *et seq.*; E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii., pp. 493 *et seq.*; J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i., pp. 506 *et seq.* (N. W. Thomas). For Attica, Varro, *De re rustica*, ii. 5. 4, quoted by J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), Part v., vol. ii., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus, *Fragm.* 128, in Müller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii., p. 461, quoted by G. Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires* (1900), p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> *Natural History*, Bk. viii., 70.



Africa.<sup>4</sup> Thus, Mr. C.W. Hobley informs me,—“The Kikuyu and Kamba of East Africa, like most Africans, are attached to their cattle, but do not exhibit such an intense love for their herds as the pastoral Masai. I attribute this to the fact that the Kikuyu at any rate have not been cattle-owners for such a long time as the Masai, Nandi, or Galla. The Kikuyu would fight for their cattle, but would not die *en masse* to prevent their capture. The Nilotic Kavirondo live on very intimate terms with their cattle. When going to an inter-tribal fight they drive a herd in front of the war party, and shout out to their opponents that if they are the better men they can try and capture the cattle. The Bantu Kavirondo drive cattle to the burial place of a chief to mourn at his grave, and they assert that the leading bullock always knows his way there.” When Dr. Livingstone offered beef to some natives of South Africa, they refused to eat it because “they looked upon cattle as human and living at home like men.”<sup>5</sup>

The cow was regarded as sacred in Egypt, and the cow-goddess, Isis-Hathor, was supposed to be incarnate in an actual calf at Memphis, as Apis was in a bull; if any one slew one of these animals by malice prepense, he was punished by death; if the offence was committed unwittingly, he was liable to any fine which the priest thought fit to impose.<sup>6</sup> In Babylonia the ox was the representative of Ramman, the god of storm and thunder; Sin was called “the strong bull with great horns,” and Athtar in

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii., pp. 355, 414; Id., *The Magic Art*, vol. ii., p. 212; Id., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 247; *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxi., p. 206; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak*, vol. i., pp. 388 *et seq.*; J. Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 355 *et seq.* (E. S. Hartland).

<sup>5</sup> *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 462.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotus, ii., 65; A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 64, 143, 187 *et seq.*; A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 436; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 302; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), Part v., vol. ii., pp. 34 *et seq.*

South Arabia was incarnate in a bull; Ishtar and Ashtart at Tyre were cows.<sup>7</sup> The sanctity of the bull among the Hittites points to a communion-link between man and God.<sup>8</sup> In the Minoan bull cult boys and girls, according to some authorities, were devoted to be tossed by the animal, or performed perilous feats in the arena.<sup>9</sup> Baal, as a god of fertility, was often represented in Palestine by a bull, like the Greek Dionysus;<sup>10</sup> or, rather, the god was originally a bull, and only in later times lost his animal form.

At the same time, though respect for the animal is widely spread among races in the pastoral stage of culture, it seems rarely, if ever, to reach that feeling of passionate devotion towards their sacred animal which is found among the Hindus. Here devotion towards the cow appears in all the religious, domestic, and social observances of the people. Many persons keep a cow in the house as a symbol of good luck, and so arrange the position of her stall that their waking glance may fall upon its inmate; others do not eat food until they have decorated the forehead of the household cow with flowers and sandal-wood paste; special festivals are observed at which the cattle are washed, adorned, and provided with dainty food; married women worship the cow to gain long life for their husbands and children, and widows in order to ensure a change in their weary lot at their next re-birth; the bull

<sup>7</sup> J. Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 313; G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins Social and Religious*, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, pp. 252 *et seq.*

<sup>9</sup> C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, p. 116. Cf. A. Lang, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., pp. 132 *et seq.*; G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 127 n; 2nd ed., p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. i., cols. 631-2; J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 342; W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 78 *et seq.*; Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 447 *et seq.* For images of the god of the Hebrews in cow form see R. A. S. Macalister, *A History of Civilisation in Palestine*, p. 90.

is worshipped before ploughing is begun, and in western India women walk ceremonially round a white cow and her red calf with a view to atone for any injury which they may at some previous time have inflicted on the animal.<sup>11</sup>

At Hindu sacred places, or even in the ordinary bazars, when the religious tension which periodically seizes all Orientals is fanned into a flame by the preaching of some fanatic, the slaughter of a cow sets the whole population in a state of frenzy. If the offence be committed by a Muhammadan it is often avenged by flinging a pig or its blood into a mosque, and then the rival sects fly at each others' throats until the authorities are able to intervene. In particular the slaughter of cows as a ritual act by Muhammadans at the Idu-'l-azha festival, which is regarded as a commemoration of Abraham's willingness to slay his son Isaac, is strongly resented, and the ill-feeling thus aroused has led to serious disturbances between gangs of rival fanatics. Only a couple of years ago dangerous riots, attended with serious loss of life, occurred at one of these celebrations in Calcutta, and in many other cities and towns it has been from time to time necessary to garrison the bazars with British troops. The prohibition of cow-slaughter has been eagerly advocated by the Hindu orthodox party; but this proposal has always been resisted on the ground that it would deprive the European population, and still more the Muhammadans and the menial classes, who are free from the taboo imposed upon the true Hindu, of an important supply of food. In some Native States, like Nepal, Rajputana, and Kashmir, and even in Burma under the late government, the killing of cows is, or

<sup>11</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. ix., pt. i., pp. 373 *et seq.*; W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (2nd ed.), vol. ii., pp. 232 *et seq.*; Sir J. M. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, pp. 284 *et seq.*; J. Tod, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1884), vol. i., p. 631.

was, absolutely forbidden.<sup>12</sup> In some places, as in Cutch, the British Government has by treaty assented to such prohibition; in other cases cession of territory was offered to it on condition that the use of beef was forbidden.<sup>13</sup> One of the Hindu kings in the thirteenth century was forced so far to defer to Hindu feeling that he condemned the slayer of a cow to be tied up in the hide of the animal and burned to death.<sup>14</sup> At a later period the Emperor Akbar conciliated the Jains by prohibiting the slaughter of kine at one of their chief festivals.<sup>15</sup>

On the whole, it may be said that reverence for the cow and passionate resistance to its slaughter are the most powerful links which bind together the chaotic complex of beliefs which we designate by the name of Hinduism. But, with the curious inconsistency which meets us in the study of all oriental religions, while the cow and ox are revered, they often suffer grievous ill-treatment. The carter or ploughman will beat his team severely and torture them in various ways. A worn-out, sick animal is left to die in a ditch. This is due, partly, to the fatalism, indifference, or constitutional insensibility to pain which are characteristic of all Orientals; partly to the dread lest a merciful attempt to secure euthanasia may be visited with caste penalties and involve ritual pollution.

As a contribution to the study of the beliefs of the Hindus I propose to attempt the examination of the causes which may have contributed to establish the sanctity of the cow and bull, particularly as one of our most learned historians of India, Mr. V. A. Smith, writes,<sup>16</sup>—"The

<sup>12</sup> W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, p. 100; Sir W. R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 286; J. Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 53; J. Tod, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 418 n.

<sup>13</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. v., p. 158; Sir J. Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India* (2nd ed.), vol. i., pp. 328-9.

<sup>14</sup> S. Lee, *The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> Sir J. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 163-4.

<sup>16</sup> *Asoka the Buddhist Emperor of India* (2nd edit.), p. 58.

problem of the origin of the intense feeling of reverence for the cow, now felt by all Hindus, is a very curious one and still unsolved." The solution of the question which I now propose must therefore be regarded as only provisional.

To begin with the historical aspect of the subject:—The respect for the cow comes down from that ancient period when the Vedic Northerners and the Iranians still formed one united community; in other words, it probably dates from the pastoral stage, when the kinship of the herdsman with his domesticated herds was fully recognised. According to the primitive conception of kinship the unity of tribal blood extended to the flocks as much as to the people. Hence domesticated animals are often the objects of superstitious reverence, and intimacy with them tends to destroy the appetite for their flesh.<sup>17</sup> Among the Indo-Aryans, as appears from the *Rig-veda*, the cow had already acquired a considerable degree of sanctity. She was sometimes regarded as a goddess, and the poet reminds his hearers that she is inviolable; the mother, or one of the mothers, of the god Indra was a cow.<sup>18</sup> In the *Atharva-veda*, compiled at a much later period, the necessity of making over a sterile cow to a Brahman, "whom nothing hurts,"—a suggestion of a primitive taboo,—is insisted on with fierce threats against those who neglect this obvious duty.<sup>19</sup> The culture of the Indo-Aryans, as well as that of the Iranians, both of whom were still in the pastoral stage, centred round the breeding of cattle.<sup>20</sup> In ancient Persia it was believed that the cow alone could sustain the home

<sup>17</sup> Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 493, 329 *et seq.*

<sup>18</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 151; Id., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 109; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, p. 7; *Rig-veda*, iv., 18-1.

<sup>19</sup> xii. 4, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlii., p. 656.

<sup>20</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 166; W. Geiger, *Civilisation of the Eastern Irānians in Ancient Times*, vol. i., pp. 229 *et seq.*

life of happy industry, and hence we are told that Ahura Mazda rains herbage on the earth to support her; the chief part of the reformatory work of Zoroaster was devoted to preventing the slaughter and maltreatment of cattle during the forays of the outer barbarians, the predatory tribes of the Central Asian steppe, who lived on the milk of cattle and their superfluous young.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, it seems impossible to trace any regular cult of the cow in Vedic or Iranian times, and the passage in the Rig-veda quoted by Professor Macdonell may be merely a poetical exaggeration and not meant to suggest any actual worship.

From the earliest times down to the present the cow and her products were believed to possess special magical powers, and hence they were regarded as objects of taboo, or, as is often the case with animals and things under taboo, they were supposed to be able to remove taboo. Taboo itself generally implies, as an antecedent, what we in a vague way call "holy" or "unclean." "Things are taboo," writes Dr. Jevons,<sup>22</sup> "which are thought to be dangerous to handle or to have to do with; things "holy" and things "unclean" are alike taboo." When the associations which produced the feeling of "sanctity" are forgotten or misunderstood, we usually find that the idea of "holiness" attached to a person or thing is replaced by the conception that the thing is "unclean." Thus the "uncleanness" attributed to the pig in the Muhammadan world is the result of a primitive belief in the "sanctity" of the animal, which thus became the subject of taboo.<sup>23</sup> This change of conception is well marked in the Hindu beliefs regarding the cow, her parts, and products. Such taboos are obviously part of the religious history of the race.

<sup>21</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, pp. 31, 33; *Zend Avesta, Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxxi., pp. 169 *et seq.*

<sup>22</sup> *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 *et seq.*; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iv., cols. 4825-6.

To begin with the cow,—the feeling of taboo attached to her shows itself through the whole course of the evolution of Hinduism. The respect for her, as contrasted with that felt for the bull, may be to some extent accounted for, as Professor W. R. Smith suggested,<sup>24</sup> by the prevalence of kinship through women; but a stronger motive lay in the fact that she was regarded as the chief source of food required by a pastoral tribe. The earliest Northerners who settled in India left the work of cultivating the soil to the dark, indigenous races. This was largely due to economic considerations, the new-comers being unaccustomed to agriculture. But we may conjecture that superstition, which exercises a potent influence among primitive races, may have contributed to establish the practice. Farming was probably found to be inconsistent with the priestly functions of the Brahman because it is often closely associated with magic. Thus the ploughshare is regarded as a magical implement in the Atharva-veda, where we read for the first time of the ploughing of open fields with yokes of oxen.<sup>25</sup> There is, again, the common belief that ploughing is a violent and dangerous intrusion upon the domain of the Earth deity. Manu, whose view is tinged with Buddhist sentimentalism, says, in his characteristic way,—“Some declare that agriculture is something excellent, but that means of subsistence is blamed by the virtuous, for the wooden implement with its iron point injures the earth and the beings living in the earth.”<sup>26</sup> If this consideration has any force, it may help us to understand the statement that when Prajāpati, lord of creatures, formed cattle, he made them over to the Vaisyas, whose business it became to tend them.<sup>27</sup> The occupation of

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

<sup>25</sup> x. 6, 2, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlii., pp. 84 *et seq.*, 287 *et seq.*, 356, 608 *et seq.*

<sup>26</sup> x. 84. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii., p. 42.

<sup>27</sup> Manu, ix. 327, i. 90, viii. 113, x. 79.

northern India was effected by successive bodies of immigrants, among whom the Vaisyas probably retained their pastoral habits, while, by a differentiation of function, priestly duties were monopolised by the Vedic Brahmans. This furnishes an explanation of Manu's statement that those who subsist by tending, training, or selling cattle are excluded from the sacrifices offered to ancestors, and that the seller of cattle becomes a Sūdra or outcast.<sup>28</sup> He also lays down that food at which a cow has smelt is to be avoided by the Brahman, who can, however, remove the taboo by sprinkling earth upon it.<sup>29</sup> In other words, the cow is so "holy" that the Brahman, himself the subject of rigid taboos, must be cautious in dealing with her.

Another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction appears in the custom prevailing among the Shin Dards in northern Kashmir, who, like the Kafirs of the Hindu-kush, are probably descended from the broken Northern tribes of eastern Afghanistan, driven into the hills by the advancing Muhammadans.<sup>30</sup> They regard the cow as impure, will not eat butter nor drink milk, and, when a cow calves, they put the calf to its mother by pushing it with a forked stick, and will not touch it with their hands.<sup>31</sup>

We meet with taboos of a similar kind among the modern Hindus, even among the menial and forest tribes. The Kapillyans of Madura keep a sacred herd, of which the cows are never milked, and the calves, when they grow up, are used only for breeding; when one of these animals dies, it is buried deep in the earth, and not given as food to menial beef-eaters, which is the usual way in which Hindus

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 102, iii. 154, 166, x. 86, 92; but see Gautama, xvii. 5 *et seq.*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii., pp. 262 *et seq.*

<sup>29</sup> Manu, iv. 209, v. 125; Gautama, xvii. 12, *ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>30</sup> Sir G. S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 157.

<sup>31</sup> F. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 428; J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 37; H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, vol. ii., p. 222.



dispose of dead cattle ; from the herd a king bull is selected by a magical rite, and he is treated with the highest reverence.<sup>32</sup> Siva, as a god of fertility, was originally a bull, which by the usual course of religious evolution has now been converted into his attendant or "vehicle" (*vāhana*). Hence, when a sacred bull dies, the Devangas of southern India, who worship Siva and the bull, bury him with elaborate funeral rites ; and among the Dhangars, who follow similar beliefs, a grown-up, unmarried girl, who is regarded as under taboo, is not allowed to ride on an ox, lest she pollute Basava, the sacred bull.<sup>33</sup> Among several Hindu tribes, if a cow dies on the spot where she has been tethered, or with a rope round her neck, the whole family of the owner is taboo until they remove the pollution by bathing in a holy river ; in the Punjab such an owner is sent, as a form of penance, to convey the tail of the dead cow to the Ganges, and is there beaten with a shoe by a Chuhra sweeper, a combination of indignities most grievous to a pious Hindu ; among the Maratha Kunbis the mere presence of a bone of a cow or ox in the house causes its master to be temporarily excluded from caste privileges.<sup>34</sup> The Mikirs, one of the wilder tribes of Assam, are only now under Brahman guidance beginning to give up their prejudice against keeping cows.<sup>35</sup>

Among other tribes a similar taboo attaches to the buffalo, which also possesses inherent "sanctity," probably because it has been only in comparatively recent times

<sup>32</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. iii., pp. 219 *et seq.* ; W. Francis, *Gazetteer of the Madura District*, vol. i., pp. 20 *et seq.*

<sup>33</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 161-2 ; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xxi., p. 153. Manu (iv. 142) directs that a Brahman in a state of taboo shall not touch a cow, fire, or another Brahman.

<sup>34</sup> R. V. Russell, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers : Wardha District*, vol. A, p. 60 ; Id., *Bhandara District*, vol. A, p. 60 ; Id., *Sambalpur District*, vol. A, p. 68 ; Rose, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 209.

<sup>35</sup> E. Stack, *The Mikirs*, p. 12 ; T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 118.

domesticated from the wild herds of the forest, the boldest and most savage of the Indian *bovidæ*.<sup>36</sup> Hence it has been adopted as the "vehicle" of Yama, god of death-land, which lies in the south. The special Toda cult of the buffalo will be discussed later on. The Pariahs of Madras, who have no scruples about the ox, will not use a buffalo for ploughing, regard the animal as "unclean," and bathe after merely touching it.<sup>37</sup> In the same province the wild Urālis, who eat almost any kind of meat, never dare to touch the buffalo, and the Kotas refuse to keep them.<sup>38</sup>

These facts seem to indicate that the cow and buffalo were from early times regarded as "sacred" or taboo. On the same principle the "sacred" animal removes taboo. In the Wardha district, when a child is born at an inauspicious time, it is tied between two winnowing fans bound together with a new rope, and a cow is made to lick one of the limbs of the child, a rite which is supposed to remove the ill-luck attaching to its birth.<sup>39</sup>

In the same connection the taboo of milk is interesting and instructive. We find this taboo in force among pastoral and agricultural tribes beyond the Indian area. Most of the Central African negroes regard the drinking of milk with aversion; some of them do not allow women to have anything to do with milk or cattle, and others, when they drink milk, do not use it fresh, but curdled.<sup>40</sup> Major A. J. N. Tremearne tells me that the Filani of North Nigeria object to sell fresh milk, and, as a rule, they will not drink it. If they do sell fresh milk, they always pour a little out of each calabash on the ground. In other words, like all

<sup>36</sup> W. T. Blanford, *The Fauna of British India, etc. : Mammalia*, p. 493.

<sup>37</sup> L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol. i., p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., p. 247; *Travancore Census Report*, 1901, vol. i., p. 351; H. B. Grigg, *A Manual of the Nilgiri District*, p. 203.

<sup>39</sup> R. V. Russell, *op. cit. : Wardha District*, vol. A, p. 78.

<sup>40</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 431.

first-fruits, it may be used only with careful precaution, and this may supply a better explanation of similar Indian customs than if we suppose it to represent an offering to Mother Earth.<sup>41</sup> "When this article of food acquires considerable value, both because of its practical importance and because of the primary adjustments necessitated in caring for it, situations repeatedly arise which necessitate secondary adjustments in order that due regard may be shown to the pre-existing sanctity, or in order that it may be preserved intact in the new relations, or that no injury may come to its possessors when its sanctity is in a way violated, as, for instance, when it is removed from its accustomed environment. These secondary processes, designed to preserve its value, not only accomplish that end, but even greatly enhance it."<sup>42</sup>

The prevalence of the milk taboo among tribes scattered over a wide area in India suggests that at one time it may have been almost universal. It is at present not found in those regions most completely under Brahman influence, and its disappearance here may have been due to the use of milk in offerings to the gods in lieu of animal sacrifices, to Brahman objection to customs of the indigenous tribes, or to some economic consideration which we do not at present understand. At the present time we find the taboo in force among some of the Indo-Chinese races, among isolated tribes along the Himalaya, or at its foot, and among some peoples in central and southern India.

Beginning from the extreme north and west, it prevails among the Dards of Kashmir, who are now only just beginning to overcome it since they have come under the

<sup>41</sup> A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*, p. 243; Sir D. Ibbetson, *Punjab Ethnography*, p. 114; R. V. Russell, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers: Damoh District*, vol. A, p. 54; cf. the rite of making an oblation of wine at the Greek Pithoigia, "so that the whole may be released from tabu," Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 277.

<sup>42</sup> I. King, *The Development of Religion*, pp. 120 *et seq.*

rule of Islam.<sup>43</sup> In Assam the Khāsis, Kachāris, Rabhas, Gāros, Nāgas, and Daphlas all regard milk as "unclean," and the Kūkis do not milk their cattle.<sup>44</sup> Mr. T. C. Hodson, however, tells me that in Meithei there are two terms, *namungba*, "forbidden with a quasi-automatic sanction," and *haondaba*, "unusual, not customary." "If a Meithei told me that such and such a thing was *namungba*, I took him to mean that, if he did or ate the thing, he would suffer for it, in fact, that the sacred element would work against him. But if he did what was not customary, I see no sanction beyond the feeling that, as L. T. Hobhouse, (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. ii., p. 435) put the case, for the individual, custom has something of the force of habit and more than habit. The abstinence from milk, both of cows and buffaloes, is general, yet they eat freely of the flesh of cattle." Here the taboo has crystallised into custom. In the Punjab milk and *ghi* or clarified butter made from it are subject to the usual taboo attaching to first-fruits. After a cow has calved, the Batwāls do not eat *ghi* until some has been offered to a Brahman; the Kaler Jats give the first milk of a cow or buffalo to a virgin, and, if it be abundant, to other girls as well, these people being free from the risk of violating the taboo.<sup>45</sup> In the same province a Khatri mother never drinks milk after the birth of a child.<sup>46</sup> In the hill country south of the Ganges, the Savaras, though they hold milk in abhorrence, use it in offerings to their gods.<sup>47</sup> The Kols and Hos plough with cows as well as oxen, but they make no other use of the cow, and Dr. Ball found it difficult

<sup>43</sup> Ghulam Muhammad, *Memoirs Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. i., p. 94; F. Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

<sup>44</sup> P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 51, 159; S. Endle, *The Kachdis*, p. 15; T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 182; A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 50; T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, p. 104.

<sup>45</sup> H. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 68, 439.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 525.

<sup>47</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. vi., p. 334.

to procure milk in their country because the cows were never milked.<sup>48</sup>

The same is the case with the Indo-Chinese races, like the Burmans and Shans, the latter using milk only for medicine, and not for food, regarding its taste as unpleasant and its smell as disgusting.<sup>49</sup> The same feeling prevails in Java and Sumatra, and in Bali, where Hinduism still prevails, the people use coco-nut liquid instead of *ghi* in offerings to their gods, though some Pandits are now beginning to make *ghi* out of milk.<sup>50</sup> One tribe of Malay hereditary bards will not touch milk, and, when M. Grandjean told the Laos of Siam that Europeans liked and used milk, they laughed, and from that time held his countrymen in contempt.<sup>51</sup>

It is a question deserving investigation whether the Indo-Chinese races brought this taboo with them from their original home, because, if this be the case its appearance in India and its borderlands may turn out to be a fact of some ethnological importance. Hence it is relevant to push the enquiry beyond the Himalaya. In Tibet custom seems to vary, the people in the neighbourhood of Lhasa never drinking milk, while in the western districts, probably through Hindu or Buddhist influence, there seems to be little objection to its use.<sup>52</sup> The late Sir H. Yule, a first-rate authority, asserted that the Chinese do not use milk.<sup>53</sup> The evidence is not quite conclusive, but I am indebted to Lieut.-Col. L. A. Waddell and Professor E. H. Parker for

<sup>48</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 195; V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 165 *et seq.*

<sup>49</sup> Mrs. L. Milne, *The Shans at Home*, p. 48.

<sup>50</sup> Sir H. Yule, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. ix., p. 290.

<sup>51</sup> W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 673; Sir J. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. ii., p. 12.

<sup>52</sup> L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (3rd ed.), p. 172; C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, p. 298; S. Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet*, pp. 188, 195.

<sup>53</sup> See note 50 *supra*.

some information on the subject. The latter writes,—  
“There was never a true milk taboo in China, for no one ever dreamed of drinking it. The very word ‘cow’s milk’ appears only in the fifth century of our era, when a man under the Tartar dynasty has a ‘girl-like’ complexion because he drank cow’s milk habitually. The Chinese, to a man, eat fat pork and eggs, whence, I suppose, they get their fat and albumen.” Thus we seem to find that in early Chinese times milk was never used. This prejudice, however, seems now to be disappearing. Lieut.-Col. Waddell remarks that during the war which followed the Boxer rising in 1900-1901 he was much struck by the absence of milk and butter from the dietary of the people. But during our occupation of Peking tinned milk was imported for the rations of the European troops, and, after a short time, the Chinese began to beg or purchase it for their own use. Dr. Wells Williams<sup>54</sup> states that, while the Manchu Empress used to receive the milk of twenty-five cows daily, butter and milk were little used by the Chinese themselves. He tries to account for this on the ground that in this closely cultivated country there is little room for cattle. But in northern India, where the land is covered with crops, numbers of milch cattle are supported by stall-feeding. Another explanation of the non-use of milk on the Steppe is that koumis, the drink usually prepared from mare’s milk, cannot be made from that of cows.<sup>55</sup>

It is, however, among the Todas, whom Dr. Rivers, with much probability, identifies with the Nambutiri Brahmans and Nayars, races which preserve their primitive rites in greater purity than the northern Hindus, that we find the milk taboo most rigidly enforced. The basis of the Toda rites, which are more or less common to their neighbours

<sup>54</sup> *The Middle Kingdom* (4th ed.), vol. i., pp. 219, 319; vol. ii., pp. 46 *et seq.*

<sup>55</sup> F. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 330.

the Badagas, Koravas, and Kotas,<sup>56</sup> is the danger of dealing with such a "sacred" substance and the removal of taboo.<sup>57</sup> Dr. Rivers supposes that in former times the milk of the sacred cattle, which can now be used under careful restrictions, by the herdsmen and some members of the tribe, was reserved for the calves, a rule which in certain cases still holds its ground.<sup>58</sup> At present the milking-place and the dairy are carefully screened from public view; no woman is permitted to enter them; no widower or widow is allowed to drink the milk during the period of mourning; the dairy is regarded as a temple, and the dairyman is protected by rigid taboos.<sup>59</sup> The wilder section of the Veddas apparently never kept cattle, and their shamans do not object to drink milk. In some places it is believed that the presence of cows in the house neutralises the polluting influence of women on the sacred objects of the tribe.<sup>60</sup>

The magical properties attributed to milk in south India are shown by its use for the removal of taboo. The Tottiyans pour milk over the married pair, and the Tiyans remove the death pollution by letting some drip on the heads of the mourners.<sup>61</sup> The same feeling attaches to other products of the cow. The value of her urine as a means of removing taboo was well established among the Iranians.<sup>62</sup> In India the use of the same substance can be traced back to the Atharva-veda, and is probably much older, while from the period of the law-books down to the

<sup>56</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 75, 88; vol. iii., pp. 491 *et seq.*; vol. iv., pp. 10 *et seq.*

<sup>57</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 231; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), Part v., vol. ii., p. 314.

<sup>58</sup> Rivers, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 *et seq.*, 241, 245.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 430, 241.

<sup>60</sup> C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, pp. 48, 178 *et seq.*

<sup>61</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., pp. 192, 87.

<sup>62</sup> M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis* (2nd ed.), pp. 242, 331, 385; Zend Avesta, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv., pp. 64, 98, 216.

present day its efficacy is fully recognised.<sup>63</sup> The use of the dung for like purposes dates from an equally early period.<sup>64</sup> The hide of the bull, like the sheepskin used at Roman marriages, imparts fertility to the bride. According to the Vedic ritual she has to sit on the hide of a red bull with the hair upwards as soon as the stars appear in the sky.<sup>65</sup> In the Atharva-veda, as a charm to cure jaundice the priest makes the patient sit on the hide of a red bull in order to attract, by a process of sympathetic magic, its redness to counteract the yellowness characteristic of the disease.<sup>66</sup>

From the facts thus stated it appears that the respect paid to the cow dates from a very early period, probably from the pastoral age. We have now to consider the further problem: How can this feeling of respect be reconciled with the habitual sacrifice and the use of beef as food in the Vedic age, and even down to a much later period?

It is now admitted that in early times the cow was sacrificed at various rites, such as the consecration of a king and in the worship of the gods. In Vedic times a special word, *goghna*, "one for whom a cow is slain," is used to designate a guest.<sup>67</sup> The heroes of the Mahābhārata habitually ate beef, and Vedic texts are cited to justify the

<sup>63</sup> Atharva-veda, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliii., p. 489; Manu, xl., 166.

<sup>64</sup> Vishnu, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii., pp. 96, 105, 260; Sir J. M. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 *et seq.*, 407.

<sup>65</sup> H. T. Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus* (1858), p. 139; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv., p. 210.

<sup>66</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliii., p. 263.

<sup>67</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 151; Id., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 149, 162; A. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 35; F. Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures: Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion* (1878), p. 351; Atharva-veda, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliii., pp. 226, 228. The custom is said to have been discontinued in the eighth century of our era by the reformer Sankarāchārya, who substituted for it the "honey offering" (*madhuharka*), *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xxiv., p. 77; and see Manu, iii., 119, v. 41.



practice.<sup>68</sup> Even when Buddhism became the state religion we constantly hear of butchers and slaughter-houses; and in the folklore of that age, as well as in the collection of tales made by Somadeva, which are full of the spirit of Buddhism, similar evidence is forthcoming.<sup>69</sup> Thus we read in the Buddhist Jātaka of Hindus observing the home worship of the cow, and at the same time of a Brahman who proposes to sacrifice a cow to Agni, the fire-god; some tax-gatherers kill a calf to make a sword-sheath out of its skin; peasants eat an ox in time of famine, all these practices being apparently usual and not subject to censure.<sup>70</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. Rhys Davids for a note on the position of the cow in Buddhist literature. She finds no evidence in the Pitakas that the animal was held in special regard by Brahmans, Buddhists, or any other class. She has so far come across no evidence showing the growth, subsidence, or recrudescence of cow-sanctity in the Pitakan literature. Buddhists and Jains would be no more averse to the slaying of cattle than that of any other creature.

At the same time, during the period marked by the decay of the early Brahmanism and the rise of Buddhism, we see the gradual rise of a humanitarian movement with the object of restricting or abolishing animal sacrifice. The origin of this movement is obscure. Some authorities have tried to connect it with the rise of the doctrine of metempsychosis, which was as little known to the Vedic tribes as it was to the Iranians, appearing first in the Brahmana period.<sup>71</sup> At the same time, transformation into

<sup>68</sup> E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 365.

<sup>69</sup> T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 93; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 360; Somadeva, *Kathā sarit sāgara* (ed. C. H. Tawney), vol. i., pp. 227, 241.

<sup>70</sup> *The Jātaka* (Cambridge Translation), vol. ii., p. 156; vol. i., p. 308; vol. v., p. 57; vol. ii., p. 94.

<sup>71</sup> A. Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, p. 73; A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 115, 223, 386, *et seq.*; A. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 78; M. Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

animals is familiar to most men of the lower culture, and is in many cases misinterpreted so as to include metempsychosis.<sup>72</sup> It is probable that the influence of metempsychosis has been exaggerated. It was certainly current in the philosophical schools, but it seems to have had little effect upon the masses of the people. Even Manu, who expounds its principles at length, speaks of it as a "progress hard to be understood by unregenerate men."<sup>73</sup> At the present day in Burma, where it is generally accepted, it has as little effect in securing the kind treatment of animals as in modern India.<sup>74</sup> As Mr. Hopkins remarks,<sup>75</sup> "It is surely not because the Hindu was afraid of eating his deceased grandmother that he abstained from eating beef." Two causes seem to have led to the gradual disuse of animal food:—the fear of absorbing through the blood the rational soul of the animal; the old idea still retaining force that the tribal blood ran in the veins of the domesticated animals.<sup>75\*</sup> It is possible that the humanitarian movement was the result of a change of environment which weakened the moral fibre of the Northern race, and that increasing material culture, with its opportunities for leisure, encouraged the growth of that morbid introspection and sentimentalism which characterise all decadent communities.

However this may be, the writers of this age of transition are obviously embarrassed in their search for an explanation of these divergent views, which recognised the use of the animal as a sacrificial victim, and at the same time encouraged its protection. Manu, for instance, promises

<sup>72</sup> E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, vol. i., pp. 156 *et seq.*, and especially pp. 246 *et seq.*

<sup>73</sup> xii., 1 *et seq.*; vi., 73.

<sup>74</sup> Capt. C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma and its People*, p. 321.

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 199 *et seq.* The Egyptians, who worshipped the ox, did not believe in migration of souls in the Indian sense. *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii., col. 1218 n.

<sup>75\*</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vol. ii., p. 718.

heavenly bliss to him who injures no living creature, and reprobates all animal slaughter, and in particular the killing of kine. But he evades the difficulty by pleading that the killing of beasts for sacrifice is not slaughter in the common sense of the word; he permits a twice-born man to kill animals for sacrifice and for the entertainment of a guest; and, in a very feeble way, he excuses such practices on the ground that herbs, trees, and animals used for sacrifice "receive, being reborn, higher existences."<sup>76</sup> This theory is justly satirised by a writer in the Buddhist Jātaka.<sup>77</sup> But it persists in modern times, the degraded Buddhist monks of Tibet, when they eat flesh meat, repeating a charm which ensures that the animal shall be reborn in heaven.<sup>78</sup> Manu sums up the matter by admitting that there is no sin in eating meat, "but abstinence brings great rewards"; and he allows a form of commutation, ordaining that, when a man desires meat, he may make an animal out of butter and eat it.<sup>79</sup>

The same difficulty in reconciling these conflicting views has been felt by modern Hindus. Some forty years ago a paper by a learned Hindu scholar, Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, entitled "Beef in Ancient India,"<sup>80</sup> in which he described the use of the sacred animal for food, caused much astonishment and alarm. From it the inference was drawn that beef-eating, due to mere sensual appetite, was as common in ancient India as it is in many other countries at the present day. This belief, I venture to think, is unfounded, and rests upon a mistaken view of the intention with which the animal was killed and eaten.

It is now almost a commonplace that many pastoral and agricultural tribes kill and eat their sacred animal as a

<sup>76</sup> iv., 246; xi., 69, 71, 60; v., 39 *et seq.*, 56; iii., 267 *et seq.*      <sup>77</sup> vi., 10.

<sup>78</sup> L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 216.      <sup>79</sup> v., 37, 56.

<sup>80</sup> Republished from *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Indo-Aryans*, vol. i., pp. 354 *et seq.* Cf. Romesh Chunder Dutt, *History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, vol. i., p. 41.

means of gaining communion with the divine. It is unnecessary to discuss the explanations of this rite which have been given by Professor W. R. Smith and MM. H. Hubert and M. Mauss,<sup>81</sup> and, though the original theory of the totem sacrament no longer retains the authority which it once possessed,<sup>82</sup> it preserves sufficient vitality to assist in the interpretation of the Hindu evidence. It is at least clear that in ancient India the sacred animal was killed and its flesh eaten, not from the mere craving for beef, but as a ritual act.

This inference is strengthened by a consideration of the rites of two tribes which retain in a remarkable degree their archaic practices,—the Kafirs of the Hindu-kush and the Todas.

As regards the Kafirs, we lack distinct evidence that they regarded the cow as specially sacred. But they display extreme affection towards their domesticated animals, and the confidence which the animal showed to his master made their slaughter a comparatively easy matter. Their goddess Krumai appeared in the form of a goat; they carve the heads of goats, cows, and rams on their temples; the cow is the unit of value in the assessment of fines for

<sup>81</sup> W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 *et seq.*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (2nd ed.), vol. ii., pp. 365 *et seq.*; *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. ii., p. 93, reviewed in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., pp. 92 *et seq.*; L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, pp. 235 *et seq.* For the bull sacrifice amongst the Celts see J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 149. Cows are sacrificed in China, according to J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, p. 105. See also, for similar rites in Kashgar, J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), Part v., vol. ii., p. 13 n.

<sup>82</sup> F. B. Jevons, *The Idea of God in Early Religions*, pp. 60 *et seq.* The most recent theory discards the idea that the sacred flesh is shared with the God. "In sacrifice the factors were only two, the eater and the eaten, the 'worshipper,' that is the eater, and the sacred animal consumed. Once the sacred animal consumed, his *mana* passes to the eater, the worshipper, and the circuit is complete. There is no third factor, no god mysteriously present at the banquet and conferring his sanctity on the sacred animal." Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 136.

tribal offences.<sup>83</sup> They were in race akin to the Northern stock, and the inference that they, too, respected the cow is more than probable. Yet these people until quite recently, when they were converted to Islam, used to sacrifice bulls to Gish, their war-god, and cows to Imra; when peace was made by settling the blood price after a homicide, the representatives of the rival clans used to dip their feet in the blood of a cow slain for the occasion. The flesh of the sacrificed animals was freely eaten.<sup>84</sup>

The case of the Todas is still more clear. They eat ceremonially at one of their festivals a young buffalo, which is their sacred animal.<sup>85</sup> Still more significant is the fact that they raise a wail at the death of the beast, as the women of Nestor's house did when the ox, the sacred family animal, was slain, though Homer's women do not lament when cattle captured from the enemy are slaughtered.<sup>86</sup> The cry in this case is not, as some commentators allege, one of exultation, nor an expression of sorrow. It is a ritual act to disperse evil influences from the stream of "our brother's" sacred life.<sup>87</sup> The Todas are also careful to prevent the blood of the sacred animal being shed at the time of sacrifice, and the death of the victim is procured by crushing a vital organ in a most cruel manner, a fact which was familiar to the early Greek

<sup>83</sup> Sir G. S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-kush*, pp. 384, 391, 444; cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, xii.

<sup>84</sup> Sir G. S. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90, 636, 405, 389, 442.

<sup>85</sup> Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 274; J. W. Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 356; Homer, *Odyssey*, Bk. iii., ll. 450 *et seq.*; with Merry-Riddell's note *in loc.* Compare the ceremonial flight at the Bouphonia, J. G. Fraser, *The Golden Bough* (2nd edit.), vol. ii., pp. 294 *et seq.*; Id., *Pausanias*, vol. ii., pp. 303 *et seq.*; Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 111 *et seq.*; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i., pp. 56 *et seq.*, 88 *et seq.*

<sup>87</sup> G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (2nd ed.), pp. 86 *et seq.*

writers, and the same rule was followed in the ancient Brahmanical sacrifice, as is still the case among the modern Brahmans of south India and some of the forest tribes.<sup>88</sup> So, according to the Vedic sacrificial rule, the priest, while slaying the victim, took care to avert his eyes, and after the animal was killed he called out,—“Far may be the consequences of murder from us!”<sup>89</sup>

Survivals of this custom of eating the sacred animal after sacrifice, or an image of the god, are still found among some of the Indian tribes. The semi-Hinduised Gonds, who, like all converts, are careful about ritual observances, carry their dread of pollution so far as to have their faggots sprinkled with water before they are used in cooking, and, if at dinner-time a Brahman or a “crow,” both regarded as “sacred” or taboo, approach, the whole of the food is considered polluted and thrown away. Yet these people are compelled, every four or five years, to visit the shrine of Bara Deo, their tribal deity, and in his presence they are forced to eat the meat of a sacrificed cow, as a sacramental meal. But, as a compromise, they now make only a pretence of eating it, merely touching it after holding a cloth before their mouths.<sup>90</sup> The Darzis or tailors of Kathiawar are considered by their neighbours impure because, at their marriage feasts, they offer and probably eat, as a communal act, the image of a cow made of molasses.<sup>91</sup> One clan of Bhils make an image of a

<sup>88</sup> Rivers, *op. cit.*, pp. 288, 278 *et seq.*; Strabo, xv., 54; Abbé Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, etc.* (3rd ed.), p. 510; M. Haug, *The Aitareya Brahmanam*, vol. ii., p. 85; L. F. Begbie and A. E. Nelson, *Gazetteer of Chanda District*, vol. i., p. 132; R. V. Russell, *Gazetteer of Nimar*, vols. i., iii. On the custom of strangling sacrificial animals see J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Atis, Osiris* (2nd ed.), p. 404.

<sup>89</sup> Haug, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 89; *Satapatha Brahmana*, vol. iii., pp. 8, 1, 15.

<sup>90</sup> S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 5; Sir C. A. Elliott, *Settlement Report of the Hoshangabad District*, p. 69.

<sup>91</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. ix., pt. i., p. 503.

dog, their sacred animal, in flour, and eat it. They have invented an aetiological legend to explain the practice, asserting that one of their ancestors once ate a puppy by mistake for a hare.<sup>92</sup> The Komatis of Madras make an image of a cow in flour, cut it up with implements shaped like those used by the beef-eating castes, and distribute, according to a fixed rotation, joints of the image to certain families.<sup>93</sup> At a wedding among the Malas of the same province an image of their tribal goddess, Sunkalamma, is made of rice and gram; offerings are laid before it, and a ram or he-goat is sacrificed; the worshippers prostrate themselves in silence, and then divide and eat the goddess.<sup>94</sup> This ceremonial distribution of the joints of the victim was a rule in the old Hindu sacrifices, and, when it was described by Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, was a shock to modern orthodox Hindus.<sup>95</sup> The same rule was in force among the Semites and the Greeks of Cos.<sup>96</sup> At the death feast of the Assam Nāgas there are equally precise rules for the distribution of portions of the victim among the relatives of the dead man and the family priest.<sup>97</sup>

As was the rule among the Semites, the early Hindu law-givers directed that the flesh of the victim, after dedication, might be eaten, and this rule is still in force among various Indian tribes. For instance, the flesh of the Toda victims is openly sold in the bazars.<sup>98</sup> It is still more remarkable that such food is permitted to two tribes of

<sup>92</sup> Capt. C. E. Luard, *Ethnographical Survey of Central India*, p. 69.

<sup>93</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 329 *et seq.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 357-8.

<sup>95</sup> Rājendralāla Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 373 *et seq.*; Haug, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 441 *et seq.*

<sup>96</sup> W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 341 *et seq.*; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii., p. 551.

<sup>97</sup> T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 149 *et seq.*

<sup>98</sup> Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 285; *Vishnu Purana* (ed. H. H. Wilson, 1840), pp. 306 *et seq.*

Brahmans who are notoriously careful in their ritual observances. The only occasion on which the Nambutiri Brahmans of Malabar eat meat is when, as part of a solemn rite on recovery after sickness, they eat the flesh of a sacrificed goat.<sup>99</sup> The Deshasth Brahmans of the Deccan are ordinarily vegetarians, except when, at long intervals, they eat the residue of a goat offered in sacrifice.<sup>100</sup> In these cases the goat has probably replaced the older cow victim. In Mysore and other parts of India high-caste Hindus seldom eat animal food except that of victims offered in sacrifice.<sup>101</sup> The Kolis, a low Punjab tribe, do not touch beef, but they gladly eat the flesh of a buffalo which has been offered to one of the goddesses.<sup>102</sup> In Bengal goats and sheep sacrificed in immense numbers to the goddess Durga are eaten by Brahmans.<sup>103</sup> A modern Hindu, who protests strongly against such practices, writes: "In these later ages, when degeneracy has made rapid strides amongst the people of the country, the original intention of the founder of the institution [of sacrifice] being lost sight of, a perverted taste has given it an essentially sensual character. Instead of offering sacrifice from purely religious motives, it is now made for the gratification of carnivorous appetite."<sup>104</sup>

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the eating of the "sacred" flesh is an act of ritual, a form of the communal sacrifice. I proceed to suggest an explanation of the modern fanatical veneration of the cow.

<sup>99</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 235.

<sup>100</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xvii., p. 51.

<sup>101</sup> F. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. iii., p. 107.

<sup>102</sup> H. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 554.

<sup>103</sup> W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos* (2nd ed.), vol. ii., pp. 111-4.

<sup>104</sup> Shib Chunder Bose, *The Hindoos as they are*, pp. 104-5; cf. W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 354.



We have seen that the dogma of metempsychosis offers no adequate explanation of the growth of this sentiment in its present exaggerated form. The same may be said of totemism. Dr. Frazer has now come to the conclusion that "the prohibitions to eat the flesh of horned cattle and deer seem to be too general to be totemic; since a characteristic feature of true totemism is that its taboos are observed not by whole tribes or communities but only by particular stocks or families which compose the tribe or community."<sup>105</sup> Further, he admits that the attempt to find totemism among the so-called Aryan races is unsuccessful.<sup>106</sup> In the almost exhaustive lists of totems in India, which his industry and research have accumulated, it is remarkable how infrequently the cow or buffalo appears.<sup>107</sup> Domestic animals are rarely selected as totems, and the absence of cow or buffalo totems in India indicates that this institution can have exercised little influence on the present problem.

More is to be said in favour of the commonly accepted theory, which has the support of Mr. Hopkins,<sup>108</sup> that the movement for the protection of kine was based upon economical considerations, the ox being essential to agriculture, the chief industry of the Hindus. It cannot be denied that this may have had some effect, and this feeling doubtless largely accounts for the respect paid to the animal in the pastoral stage of culture; and at present all Hindus accept this as the explanation of their devotion to the animal. But it may be urged that, while this feeling may in some measure account for the respect paid to the animal, it cannot account for the existing fanatical reverence. Experience of the Hindu and other backward races shows that economical or hygienic considerations exercise

<sup>105</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii., p. 204.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 12 *et seq.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 218 *et seq.*

<sup>108</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

only an intermittent influence. Such races are swayed rather by magic, by other forms of superstition, or by hereditary custom.

The reverence for the cow must therefore, I venture to think, be based on some feeling which is in its nature religious rather than economical or hygienic. We seem thus to be compelled to seek an explanation in causes connected with the race origins or religious beliefs of the Hindus.

Two prominent facts underlie the whole history of the evolution of Hinduism: first, the conflict between the Northerners and the races which they found in possession of the land; second, that between the Brahman or priest and the Kshatriya or warrior tribes. It is significant that the question of the cow appears prominently in both these conflicts.

The early Northerners were exposed to constant raids, in which their cattle were captured by the Dasyus or aboriginal people, and the former retaliated by seizing the herds of their adversaries. The graphic account of the situation by Dr. J. Muir explains all the facts.<sup>109</sup> The whole situation must have tended to bring the question of the protection of their herds into prominence.

Secondly, we have the contest between the priestly and warrior elements in the Vedic community.<sup>110</sup> The importance of this in relation to the social and religious evolution of the Hindus we are only now beginning to realise.

During the period represented by the Brahmana and law literature the cow came to be closely associated with the Brahmans. The appropriate fee for the performance of all religious duties was one or more cows, and many tales are told of princes offering gifts of enormous numbers of cows

<sup>109</sup> *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions*, Pt. ii., pp. 409, 407, 395, 406, 400.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, Pt. i., pp. 58 *et seq.*

to their priests.<sup>111</sup> In the preface to the Mahābhārata<sup>112</sup> we are told that "this collection of all sacred texts, in which the greatness of cows and Brahmans is exalted, must be listened to by virtuous-minded men." Manu lays down that he who dies, without expectation of reward, for the sake of Brahmans and cows, secures beatitude even for the outcasts of the community, and the kindred of such heroes do not incur the death pollution.<sup>113</sup>

It is now fully established that the ranks of the Kshatriyas or warriors were recruited by the admission of many Scythian and Hun princes, who in the troubled times between the second century B.C. and the sixth century of our era successively invaded and occupied northern India.<sup>114</sup> As a natural result of this entry of cow-killing and beef-eating foreigners we hear many tales of outrages committed on the wonder-working cows of Brahman ascetics by these new-comers.<sup>115</sup> The law books denounce such offenders in the most savage terms.<sup>116</sup> These strangers, finding that the habit of eating beef as a ritual act was prevalent among the Hindus, were naturally encouraged to believe that their own hereditary practices were not inconsistent with the Hindu faith which they now adopted.

The result of these two conflicts, in which the plunder and slaughter of cattle were largely involved, must have tended to identify more and more closely the Brahman Levites with the animal which they were already pledged to protect and reverence. From this we may be helped to

<sup>111</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 192 ; Geiger, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 221 ; Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 43 ; Manu, iii., 186, iv. 231 ; *Harsa-Charita of Bāna* (trans. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas), p. 197 ; *Vishnu Purana* (ed. H. H. Wilson, 1840), p. 431 ; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. i., Pt. i., p. 25.

<sup>112</sup> i., lxx., 35.

<sup>113</sup> x., 62 ; v. 95.

<sup>114</sup> See my paper, "Rajputs and Mahrattas," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xl., pp. 39 *et seq.*

<sup>115</sup> Muir, *op. cit.*, pt. i., pp. 45, 75, 87, 96 *et seq.*, 156, 201.

<sup>116</sup> Manu, viii., 325.

understand the Buddhist attitude towards the cow. This new faith was in its original anti-Brahmanical, and it substituted for the special reverence for one sacred beast, the cow, a general tenderness for all animal life. But the use of animal food among the lower strata of the people was probably too strongly established to render a general prohibition possible. We may compare with this the Sikh revolt against Brahmanism. The great Sikh Guru, Hargobind, like the Āryā Samāj, which has as its object the restoration of Vedic observances as opposed to the later Brahmanical ritual, shows indifference to the cow. The Sikhs do not regard the cow as specially sacred, save where they have come under Brahman influence, though they so far concede to Hindu prejudice that they believe the slaughter of it to be more heinous than that of any other animal.<sup>117</sup>

Naturally, then, when Brahmanism rose to power on the decay of Buddhism, the cow became closely associated with it.

In the first place, the chief agents of the dissemination of the new doctrine were the wandering ascetics, who forced their way through the forest region dividing the Holy Land of Brahmanism in the north from the south country, the home of the Dravidian tribes. For these missionaries the cow was necessary as a source of food and to provide the butter which, as a substitute for animal victims, now came to be used in the fire sacrifice. The adoption of the word *gotra*, a "cow-pen," to define the Brahmanical groups for the purpose of marriage, shows the importance of the animal in their social economy.

Secondly, as among various races, including the Indo-Aryans and Iranians, the cow was identified with Mother Earth, while the bull represented the spirit of fertility.<sup>118</sup> In

<sup>117</sup> M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. iv., p. 220 n.; H. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 23.

<sup>118</sup> J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 38, 140, 205; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. v., p. 126.

its Brahmanical form the legend was localised at Gokarn, a sacred place on the western coast, where Siva, at the prayer of the Earth goddess, rose through the ear of a cow whose form she had assumed.<sup>119</sup>

Thirdly, the cow was associated with the new cultus. The bull became the attendant of Siva, lord of fertility, the favourite object of Brahman worship, whose sacred marriage with the Earth goddess is periodically celebrated. On the same principle the Brahmans recognised and adopted the worship of Krishna, who in one of his many forms was a god of cattle, and devotion and tendance of the cow is a prominent part of his cultus.<sup>120</sup> The cow was introduced into the family ritual conducted under Brahman superintendence. Thus the sacred marriage of the bull and cow is performed as a mimetic fertility charm at marriage, and at the death rites to strengthen the puny soul for its journey to the world of spirits.

Lastly, the Muhammadan raids and the slaughter of the cow at the Idu-'l-azha festival must have tended to increase the devotion towards the animal. The Muhammadan chronicles tell many stories of deliberate cow slaughter in the lust of conquest, with a view to enforce the submission of the Hindus, or in revenge for their resistance.<sup>121</sup> Even as late as 1813, it is alleged by the Hindus of Benares that the Muhammadans, in the course of a fanatical riot, slew a cow and her calf and poured their blood upon the sacred stone pillar, the Lāt Bhairon, which up to that date had withstood all attempts to destroy it. Now in horror at the outrage it trembled and fell to pieces.<sup>122</sup>

To sum up the suggestions which I have ventured to advance in this paper :—We find the cow domesticated and

<sup>119</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xv., pt. ii., pp. 288-9 n 2.

<sup>120</sup> J. Kennedy, "The Child Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1907, pp. 951 *et seq.*

<sup>121</sup> Sir. H. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. i., pp. 193, 298.

<sup>122</sup> H. H. Wilson, *History of India from 1805 to 1835*, vol. i., p. 472 n.

regarded as taboo or "sacred," not necessarily a totem, from that very early period when the Indo-Aryans and their kinsmen the Iranians still formed one united community. At this stage of culture the kinship of man with the animal world, and particularly with the domesticated cattle of the tribe, was fully recognised ; and, as is not uncommon with tribes in the pastoral or agricultural stage of culture, the kinsmen by the periodical sacrifice and ritualistic eating of the flesh of the sacred animal sought to gain communion with the divine. In later days, when the foreigner, an eater of beef, entered the land and became to some extent Hinduized, it became unnecessary for him to abandon his usual food, because its consumption had now acquired a local ritualistic sanction. We have seen that traces of this communal sacrifice may still be traced among the Kafirs, and particularly among the Todas, and that the rite is still performed in effigy by certain castes or tribes. Gradually, for reasons which are at present obscure, a feeling of humanitarianism spread through northern India, which resulted in the restriction of blood sacrifices and the sacramental eating of the victim. But the use of beef was not immediately discontinued among the imperfectly Hinduized foreigners, and still holds its ground among the menial and forest tribes. If this view be accepted, it supplies an interesting parallel to the theory of Professor Ridgeway,<sup>123</sup> that the flesh-roasting and flesh-eating Achæans were a foreign tribe which migrated from northern Europe into Greece. The association of Buddhism with the Kshatriya or warrior group helps to furnish an explanation of the comparative indifference of the new faith towards the Brahman cult of the cow. With the rise of the neo-Brahmanism the protection and veneration of the cow were revived and extended. The cult of Mother Earth now adopted into orthodox beliefs, the ascetic missionary organisation, the introduction of the worship of Siva with the

<sup>123</sup> *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. i., p. 524.

bull as his attendant, the rise of the cult of Krishna, the adoption of the animal into the domestic ritual conducted under Brahman supervision,—these were all developments of the same movement, which ended in the adoption of the sanctity of the cow as one of the chief bonds of connection between the many rival sects, each provided with its own body of dogma and ritual, which now form the amorphous mass of beliefs constituting Hinduism as we observe it at the present day.

In the death struggle which orthodox Hinduism is now waging against the intrusive Western culture, the beliefs we have been considering will doubtless play a prominent part. But this is a matter for the statesman, not for the student of comparative religion.

W. CROOKE.

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## THE SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MYTH.<sup>1</sup>

BY W. H. R. RIVERS.

(*Read at Meeting, June 19th, 1912.*)

TO those engaged in the attempt to trace out the history of social institutions among people of rude culture, the myths and traditions of the people themselves form a natural and attractive field of inquiry. At the present time, however, there is the widest divergence of opinion as to the value of this kind of knowledge. By some workers such narratives are used as evidence without hesitation, while by others they are put wholly on one side as the pure fruit of imagination, having no relevance where facts are concerned.

A striking example of this divergence of treatment is to be found in the utilisation of Arunta narratives by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Frazer,<sup>3</sup> and their scant rejection by Mr. Andrew Lang<sup>4</sup> as traditions "dictated by the logic of fancy," and therefore, it is assumed, of no value as evidence. It does not seem to have occurred to these workers,<sup>5</sup> nor, so far as I am aware, has it occurred to others,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Miss C. S. Burne, Miss Jane Harrison, and Mr. H. M. Chadwick for suggestions which have led me to add to, or modify, this paper since it was read before the Folk-Lore Society.

<sup>2</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 207, 209, and *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i., p. 238.      <sup>4</sup> *Man*, vol. x. (1910), p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Except in so far as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen lay stress on the divergence of tradition from present customs.



to inquire whether it is possible to lay down any general principles which may enable us to assign its proper value to such evidence. It is the purpose of this paper to formulate one such principle and inquire to what conclusions it may lead us.

I must first say something about the sense in which I propose to use the term 'myth.' At the present time this word is used with many different meanings. By some it is limited to narratives which give an account of the doings of gods or of those who possess in some measure divine characters; to others a narrative is only a myth if it stands in a definite relation to ritual and serves to explain and justify this ritual; by others the term is used more widely, but is limited to narratives which give an account of or explain natural as opposed to social phenomena.

In the present state of our knowledge the chief justification of classifications and definitions lies in their usefulness, and a classification which may be useful from one point of view may not necessarily be so from another. I approach the subject of myth in this paper in its relation to the history of culture, and from this point of view, if from no other; the limitations implied by the usages I have mentioned are neither helpful nor necessary.

The general class of which myths form one group are narratives which give a concrete account of events. By thus laying stress on the concrete nature of "narratives" I intend to exclude the abstract accounts of events given by science.

From the point of view of the history of culture the first grouping of narratives depends on whether they are or are not historical, whether they are records of events which have actually happened or the work of the human imagination. We can be confident that even those narratives of peoples of rude culture which come nearest to history contain imaginative elements, but this only makes it the task of the student to distinguish the two elements from one another.

The first line of cleavage of narratives and of their elements, then, is into the historical and the imaginative. The latter class may be further broken up into two main sections, viz. those which purport to give an account of or explain any portion of the universe, and those which have no such purpose but are purely fictive, and I propose to distinguish these two sections as myth and fiction respectively. According to this mode of classification a myth is a narrative which gives an account of the coming into being of man himself or of any feature of his environment, natural or social.<sup>6</sup> Not only will it include narratives which account for and justify man's religious practices, and thus extend to all which describe the doings of gods and serve to explain the general character as well as the details of ritual, but it will also include narratives which tell how there arose features and motions of any objects in sky, sea, or land. It will range in its connotation from the most elaborate doings of a god, in so far as these are not historical, to the origin of the elephant's trunk or the cause of a cleft in a rock.

I am not concerned in this paper with the group of narratives I include under fiction, and need only say that, though they often take the form of tales which give an account of events supposed to have happened, they differ from myths in having no explanatory motive. Their purpose is purely æsthetic, and, though such fictive tales undoubtedly exist among people of rude culture, they are probably less frequent and less important than among the civilised. Only one point need be noted here, viz. that a large proportion of the narratives of lowly culture are probably myths which have been transmitted from people

<sup>6</sup> This definition limits the term "myth" to narratives which have an ætiological or explanatory motive. I have, however, expressly avoided the use of the word "explain" in the definition, because this term bears a rationalistic connotation which makes it a very inexact means of expressing the mental attitude of those among whom myths arise. For want of a fully appropriate word, however, I shall speak of myths as explanatory in the general body of the paper.

to people, in which process their ætiological character has been lost or obscured.

The classification of narratives, then, which I propose is into historical traditions, myths, and tales. According to my use of the word, a myth is the pure product of the human imagination, an attempt to express the wonderful and the mysterious.

My definition of myth does not include a frequent feature of narratives in which actions or sayings are assigned to persons other than the real agent. Wonderful stories tend to cluster round the lives of exceptional men and round superhuman beings, and such stories are often called myths, but, except in so far as they help to show the divine or superhuman character of the being to whom they are attributed and thus assist in accounting for the mysteries of the universe, they would not come under my definition.

I may point out that my mode of defining myth corresponds closely with that of current English usage as indicated by the definition of Murray's dictionary, viz. "a purely fictitious narrative usually involving supernatural persons, actions, or events, and embodying some popular idea concerning natural or historical phenomena." My usage is more definite in its omission of the qualification beginning with the word "usually," and it has the advantage of avoiding the ambiguous word "supernatural," but the two agree in the important point that the term applies to all natural or historical, *i.e.* social, phenomena.

My definition also agrees in essence with current German usage as indicated by Bockh's *Encyclopaedie*, which is accepted by Ehrenreich,<sup>7</sup> viz. "der sinnliche in Personifikationen gegebene Ausdruck der gesammten ethischen und physischen Erkenntnis." Here again the word is made to cover the whole of human experience, and it also clearly implies the explanatory purpose of myth. The definition might be freely translated "the concrete expression of

<sup>7</sup> *Die allgemeine Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 6.

human knowledge, social and natural, by means of personification." A doubtful point is how far the term *Personifikation* necessarily implies anthropomorphic expression. If this term can be stretched to include the representation of ideas in animal or other non-human concrete forms, there would be little if any difference between the two definitions. R. M. Meyer<sup>8</sup> has expressed in brief but pregnant form the main idea of my definition. According to him a myth is any part of the universe seen from the point of view of primitive man, "ein Eckchen Welt, angeschaut durch das Temperament eines primitiven Menschen."

Myths may deal with social topics in three distinct ways. First, it may be the primary motive of a myth, or of some part of a myth, to give an account of the coming into being of a social institution. Next, a myth may have a social setting. The whole myth may be coloured by some social atmosphere; thus, in the myths of a totemic people there will be a totemic colouring, shown by reference to persons in such a way as to leave it doubtful whether they are human beings or animals. Thirdly, a myth may include incidental references to specific social events, such as a special form of marriage.<sup>9</sup>

The significance of the social setting and of incidental references to social events is very great, but it is so obvious and, I think, so generally admitted, that I do not propose to deal with these aspects of myth in this paper. When a social condition is mentioned incidentally or is revealed by the general colouring of a myth, we can be confident that it is not the pure product of imagination, but has a definite historical value. Social incidents, still less the general colouring of a myth, could never appear unless they had

<sup>8</sup> *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 1910, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> A good example of such an incident is to be found in a narrative recorded by Dr. Codrington (*The Melanesians*, p. 384), in which a man marries one of the wives of his maternal uncle.

their roots in the social constitution either of the people who narrate the myth or of those from whom the myth has been derived.

I propose, then, to accept without question the value, as historical evidence, of incidental references to social conditions and of the social setting of mythical narratives. It is not with these aspects of myth that it is the special purpose of this paper to deal, but with that kind of myth the primary motive of which is to account for social phenomena. I may point out at once a feature of such myths which differentiates them from myths having natural phenomena as their subject. When people relate a story which provides an anthropomorphic or theriomorphic interpretation of the moon's periodical changes, or narrate the events which produced the features characteristic of some animal, it is clear that we have to do with myth. When, on the other hand, they give an account of events which led to the appearance of a form of social structure or of the mode of performing a rite, we have no such immediate certainty that we have to do with myth. It is possible that the people may be preserving the memory of an actual occurrence; that we may have to do, not with myth, but with historical tradition. A possibility, then, which must always be kept in mind in dealing with narratives which appear to be social myths is that they may not be myths at all but historical traditions, or combinations of both history and myth.

The first fact which meets us in our inquiry is that narratives of a mythical kind which serve to account for social conditions occur but seldom among the records of savage or barbarous peoples. Accounts dealing with features of the sun, moon, and stars, of land and sea, of winds and weather, of animals and plants, are abundant, but it is only exceptionally that we meet with narratives which serve primarily and especially to account for social conditions. This predominance of natural phenomena as

the object of myth is so great that in many works on mythology the social myth is not mentioned. Thus, no reference is made to it in the three chapters devoted to Mythology in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, nor does van Gennep refer to it in his recent work *La Formation des Légendes*.<sup>10</sup> Its existence is definitely recognised by Ehrenreich,<sup>11</sup> but, in so far as Wundt<sup>12</sup> deals with it at all, he includes it under the general heading of "Natur-Mythus."

By some of these writers, as by van Gennep, the kind of narrative with which I propose to deal this evening is explicitly excluded by definition from the class "myth,"<sup>13</sup> and in view of its exclusion by some, and its neglect by other mythologists, it may be well to give an instance of a narrative, undoubtedly mythical, which has a definitely social subject. In one district of the Melanesian island of Santa Cruz, there are clans, one of which has as totem a bird called *taklai*, while most of the others take their names from fishes. It is narrated that once the *taklai* bird hatched out a brood of young by the side of a stream. The nestlings were carried out to sea by the stream and were taken in charge by various fishes, and it was the birds thus taken in charge who were the founders of the different clans. It is clear that we have here a narrative which gives an account of the origin of the totemic organisation, and explains why the *taklai* bird is the totem of one clan and fishes the totems of others. Taken apart from its social context this might be regarded as a purely fictive tale having the doings of animals as its subject, but the social setting in which it is found shows that it has an ætiological character. It is either a pure product of the constructive imagination seeking for an explanation of social conditions, or an instance of reversal of the more common anthropomorphic tendency of mankind

<sup>10</sup> Paris, 1910.

<sup>11</sup> *Die allgemeine Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>12</sup> *Völkerpsychologie, Mythos u. Religion*, vol. ii., pp. 294, 341.

<sup>13</sup> See *Internat. Wochensch. f. Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik*, 1910, vol. iv., p. 1167.

in which the doings of men have, as befits a totemic people, been transmuted by the mythic fancy into the doings of birds and fishes.

It is rarely that one meets with a narrative concerning social origins of which the mythical character is so obvious. More generally the narratives of rude peoples which deal with social topics are of the kind often known as culture-myths or sagas.<sup>14</sup> Such myths or sagas give an account of the introduction of various elements of the culture of the people who narrate them, but, in general, it is the introduction of material objects and of magical or religious rites which are especially recorded in these narratives. It is only exceptionally that there is any explicit reference to the introduction of social institutions.

Having now defined my terms and the scope of the subject with which I propose to deal, I can turn to the special business of this paper, the attempt to discover a general principle which may guide us in the attempt to assign their proper value to myths as evidence of the history of social institutions. For this purpose it is necessary briefly to survey the whole field of mythology to see whether any definite proposition can be laid down concerning the objects which are especially prone to become the subject of the mythopoeic tendency.

The principle I venture to suggest is that it is not the especially familiar and uniform which becomes the subject of myth; that which is ever with us in the same form does not excite the mythic fancy, but for this purpose there is necessary such an element of variety and of apparent, if not real, inconstancy as will attract attention and arouse curiosity.

Let us now survey different fields of nature admittedly the subject of myth, and see how far this proposition can be justified. I will begin with myths having animals as

<sup>14</sup> Sagas form a class of narrative dealing with heroes in which historical and mythical or fictive elements are blended.

their subject. Here, I think, there is definite evidence that it is not the especially familiar which becomes the subject of myth. Thus, in Melanesia, the animal which is ever present in the minds of the people, the subject of their daily, almost hourly, thought, is the pig, and yet I know of hardly a myth dealing either exclusively or mainly with this animal. It is about such features as the long tail of the rat, the red head of the rail, the thinness of one fish, and the grinning appearance of another, that myths have arisen and are still told by the people. Familiar animals may become the subject of myth when they are the object of religious ritual, as among the Todas, and myths may arise to explain exceptional features of a familiar animal, especially those which distinguish him from man, such as a wide mouth and the lack of speech, but with these exceptions I believe it to be a general rule that man has not mythologised about the domestic animals with which he is in daily contact, but rather about those he sees only occasionally, so that special features of their structure or behaviour have not a familiarity which has bred contempt and made them unfit subjects for the play of imagination.

Again, of features of land and sea, it is not the land which he clears and tills,<sup>15</sup> or the haunts he visits habitually to hunt or fish, which are the subject of myth, but rather strangely shaped rocks or dangerous reefs which he sees only occasionally, and then in such a way as especially to impress the imagination, and thus become the subject of the mythic fancy.

The same principle is even more striking in the case of meteorological conditions. Myths concerning the winds are well developed in parts of the world where their direction and strength are variable and uncertain, but in such a

<sup>15</sup> It is only when there is anything exceptional in the nature of this land that it will become the subject of myth. Thus, if an island has red earth only in one locality, it will naturally attract attention and be likely to form a subject for the play of imagination.



region as Melanesia, where the seasons are remarkably constant and regular, myths about the winds scarcely occur. The importance of these winds and their accompanying seasons in the life of the people is enormous ; in one form or another ideas connected with them permeate the whole lives of the people, and yet it is not about them that one finds myths, but rather about the inconstant appearance of the rainbow or the meteor.

I turn now to the heavenly bodies, which probably at all times and in all places have been the most frequent subject of myth. In recent works on mythology, especially in Germany, the prominent place formerly occupied by the sun has been largely taken by the moon. It is in the moon that many modern mythologists see the subject of the early speculations they believe to underlie so many of the myths of the world, both civilised and uncivilised. Without in any way committing myself to accept the general views of the modern German school, I believe that it is right in the importance it attaches to the moon rather than to the sun, at any rate in tropical countries, and in the ruder stages of culture. If this be so, it is exactly what is to be expected on the principle I am now trying to establish. In tropical countries the daily course of the sun is almost exactly the same from day to day, year in, year out, while the variations of the moon are such as can hardly fail to arouse attention and wonder. Not only are there the changes of its times of appearance in relation to the distribution of night and day, not only is there its total disappearance for a time in every month, but there are such changes of form as cannot but arouse the speculative tendency, if it is to be aroused by anything. While the constancy of the sun's movements make it the daily means of orientation in time, its uniformity and familiarity is such as to make it a far less appropriate subject for the mythic fancy than the changeable and inconstant moon.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The greater apparent inconstancy of the moon's course has not been the

You will have noticed that I have qualified this opinion by limiting its application especially to the tropics. In more temperate latitudes, where there are great variations in its yearly course, the sun may on my principle be expected to bulk more largely in mythology, and, though it is taking me from my proper subject, I cannot refrain from a passing suggestion that the principle I am trying to establish may serve as a guide to the home of myths, highly developed myths having the sun as their subject-matter being more likely to have arisen in high latitudes.<sup>17</sup>

There are certain frequent subjects of myth which are so constantly present and so familiar as to awaken doubts concerning the sufficiency of the generalisation I am trying to establish. Thus, fire is so familiar a feature of the surroundings of people at all known stages of culture that one would hardly expect it to be a frequent subject for the play of imagination. There are, however, certain features of fire and fire-making which serve to account for this apparent exception to our rule. Probably nowhere among people of low culture is the making of fire a frequent and familiar occurrence. Every one who has lived among rude people must be struck by the care taken to keep the fire alive on the hearth. Though fire is familiar, the act of making fire has just that occasional and recurrent character which affords the most suitable soil for the growth of myth. Further, fire is made by different methods, and it may well be that many of the myths dealing with fire have their basis, not in the origin of fire itself, but in the introduction of some new mode of making it.

only motive for its prominence in myth. The supposed connection of the moon with ideas of fertility (cf. E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, 1892, vol. i., p. 493), and with physiological conditions has certainly been an important motive working in the same direction. Further, it is probable that the visibility of the moon at night, when the emotions underlying the mythopoeic state are especially prone to arise, has been another very important factor.

<sup>17</sup> The bearing of this point on the problem of the original home of the Aryans is obvious.

Another frequent subject of myth is even more familiar than fire. If myths do not arise about the familiar, we should not expect to find the narratives of rude culture dealing with the origin of man himself or of the part of the earth on which he lives. The wide prevalence of creation-myths seems at first sight to form such an exception to my generalisation as to put it wholly out of court. At the present moment I am content thus to mention the problem raised by this exception, and shall return to it later when the general argument of my paper will have given us the clue to its solution.

The examination of nature-myths has now led us to the principle that people do not mythologise about the uniform and the familiar, and I proceed to inquire what aspects of social life we should expect to find the subject of myth if this principle also holds good of myths having social conditions as their topic. The point on which I wish especially to lay stress as the foundation of my argument is that, if people do not make myths about the very familiar, social organisation is the very last aspect of social life which one would expect to be their subject. By social organisation I mean the fundamental setting in and around which social events take place,—such institutions as the family and clan and the relationships set up by membership of these social groupings. Of all aspects of social life this is the most constant and all-pervading. We often speak of it in general as social structure, because it forms the foundation and framework of the whole social life, and, if there is anything in the principle I have stated, I should no more expect to find its origin the subject of myth than I should expect to find myths about the origin of the floors and walls of our houses.

There is a very striking difference between phenomena belonging to the fundamental institutions of social organisation and those connected with other aspects of human life. A man who is carrying out a religious rite is doing some-

thing special, and, though religious practices pervade the lives of those of ruder culture far more thoroughly than among ourselves, there is, in every practice which can be called religious, an element of separateness from the ordinary life which excites the attention and makes the action one likely to excite curiosity and wonder. Indeed, the element of separateness from ordinary life is one of the essential features of religion. Similarly, one who goes out hunting, even though he does so every day, is doing something which he is not always doing. He is entering upon a mode of activity which brings into being a special set of ideas and emotions. The fundamental social relations, on the other hand, those of the family or clan, for instance, are in far more constant action, and are at the same time less obtrusive. They are present as an integral part of every activity upon which a man enters, and there is no intermission in their action. Not even during the partial unconsciousness of sleep do they cease to play a part, but here, as in the waking state, they form only the setting for other appearances far more calculated to excite the speculative tendency.

It may be urged that there are events such as marriage, in which the social interest is dominant, which might be expected to awaken curiosity, and thus excite speculation concerning origin in a pre-eminent degree. Here again, however, it is not the purely social elements which are the most obtrusive. In marriage, for instance, the features of the occasion which are of the most fundamental social significance pass almost without notice. The relationship of bride and bridegroom and other purely social factors which serve to regulate the marriage as a social institution are so obvious that, though they must have attracted attention during the arrangement of the marriage, they will have become part of the established order by the time the marriage ceremonies are performed, and will sink into insignificance beside the more purely ritual features of the occasion.

Further, in a rude state of culture, the fundamental social relations are even less obtrusive than in civilised communities. Among ourselves there has come to be a more or less sharp line of distinction between relatives and friends, and it is at important moments of life, such as birth, marriage, and death, that such distinctions are brought more obtrusively than usual to our notice. Even then, however, our imaginations are not excited by the fact, and, if we are led to indulge in speculation at all, these social relations are not their most probable subject. Still less are they likely to become the subject of speculation at ruder levels of culture, where the distinction between relative and friend can hardly be said to exist.

I shall have later to consider an important exception to the rule I am now formulating, but for the present I conclude that of all aspects of human life those of purely social character are the least likely to awaken speculative interest and become the subject of myth.

We should thus expect that myths having social organisation as their subject should be absent or very rare. It is only among people of advanced culture that we should expect to find a speculative interest in the origin and development of social institutions, and then we might expect that the speculations would be clothed, not in the form we know as myth, but in that different though allied form of expression we call science. It is therefore a remarkable and startling fact that there are few peoples of the earth whose myths deal more definitely and explicitly with social conditions than the Australians, who, while far more advanced than was once supposed, yet undoubtedly occupy a very lowly place in the scale of human culture. It is this paradox which will occupy our attention for the remainder of this paper.

The narratives with which I propose especially to deal are those of the Arunta, Dieri, and other tribes of central Australia. These people narrate long and complex

accounts, full of circumstantial detail, concerning beings who introduced various rites, such as circumcision and sub-incision, and certain implements of material culture, such as the stone knife and the bull-roarer. In general, these narratives are good examples of the kind known as culture-myth, but the point in which they are exceptional is in the prominence they give to social institutions. Not only do they give an account of the introduction of totems, but they even account for the institution of so purely social an institution as exogamy. From two widely separated parts of the continent Howitt<sup>18</sup> records myths dealing with the formation of moieties or clans, while accounts of the institution of marriage regulations occur also in the narratives of the Arunta recorded by Spencer and Gillen and by Strehlow. These are elements of the social order so fundamental and so familiar to those who practise them that they seem the most unlikely subjects for myth. Widespread as is the institution of exogamy among those of rude culture, I know of few other examples<sup>19</sup> of native narratives, mythical or otherwise, dealing with its origin, and it is therefore most necessary to inquire why they should occur among the aborigines of Australia.

In the search for motives which will explain the prominence of social forms in the narratives of the Australians, a fact which will probably occur to every one is the great complexity of their social organisation. The social arrangements of these people are so complex that it is only by prolonged and severe effort that even the trained sociologist succeeds in understanding them fully, and probably there could be counted on the fingers of one hand the sociologists

<sup>18</sup> *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 480, 491.

<sup>19</sup> As examples from Melanesia, Jos. Meier, (*Mythen und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel* (Neu-Pommern), 1909, p. 23), gives a myth of the origin of the dual organisation in New Britain, and Suas, (*Anthropos*, 1912, vol. vii., p. 47), records a similar account from Lepers' Island in the New Hebrides.

who possess even an approximate mastery of their complexities. One is therefore tempted to suggest that it is this complexity which makes the social organisation of the Australians so obtrusive that it comes into the focus of direct and fully conscious attention. If this argument from our own incapacity stood alone, I should attach little importance to it. It would be the utilisation of a line of argument which I believe to be thoroughly vicious, being based on the idea that because an institution is strange and unintelligible to us, it must therefore be so to those of whose life it forms an integral part. But this argument does not stand alone. The accounts of various writers make it probable that the social regulations of the Australians do not work smoothly; that doubtful cases frequently arise which have to be settled by the elders; and there seems also to be little doubt that these knotty points arise, not merely in personal and concrete matters, but may involve the interpretation and even in some cases the modification of customary social regulations. So far as I am aware, the Australians are again exceptional in this respect. In places with which I have myself had to deal, the chiefs or elders or other governing element of the community often have to decide matters of fact, such as the exact relationship of persons to one another, the paternity of a child, the right of persons to land, etc., but it is most exceptional that they have to interpret or modify social regulations. The only example of which I can think is when there arises the necessity for the interpretation of the extent of the classificatory principle of relationship, and I do not know of a single instance in which there has been such deliberate modification of social regulations as seems to occur in Australia.

There is reason to believe, then, that the complexities of Australian social structure are such as to bring it frequently into focal attention, and make it a matter with an obvious and vivid interest. It is at least remarkable that a people

whose customary narratives deal so largely with social matters should at the same time be one whose social structure so frequently becomes the object of definite attention and interest.

My first suggestion, then, is that social relations are prominent in the myths of Australia because these relations are so complex that they are forced more frequently and obtrusively than elsewhere into the focus of social attention, and thus acquire such interest as to arouse wonder and speculation. I have now to point out certain facts which lead me to look elsewhere for the chief motive we are seeking, though it is not improbable that the element of complexity may be one factor tending to give persistence to the narratives, even if it played no part in their formation.

Before I proceed to point out the difficulties which lead me to look further afield in my search for an explanation of the exceptional character of Australian myth, I must consider one prominent feature of Australian social mechanism. I have elsewhere<sup>20</sup> briefly drawn attention to the fact that throughout Australia there are found in combination two forms of social structure which elsewhere, as in Melanesia, are wholly distinct and apparently belong to two quite different cultures. These forms of structure are the dual organisation and the organisation in totemic clans. The dual mechanism of Australia is much more complicated than any of which we know elsewhere, having added to it the system of matrimonial classes, but, whether there be four or eight of these matrimonial classes, they remain in essence modifications of the dual system, while the totemic system seems, in many cases at any rate, to be an additional mode of social grouping.

The fact to which I wish now to call attention is that it is the totemic aspect of social life which is especially pro-

<sup>20</sup> Address, Section H, British Association, 1911. See *Report* for 1911, p. 490, or *Nature*, 1911, No. lxxxvii., p. 356.



minent in the mythical narratives of the Australians. The names of matrimonial classes occur continually as part of the general setting of the myths, but the matter with which these narratives primarily deal is the appearance and conduct of beings who had the half human, half animal features which are so characteristic of the mythical personages of totemic peoples.

I know of only one definite case in which an Australian myth gives an account of the origin of the dual system, viz. the account given to Siebert by the Wurunjerri people which has been recorded by Howitt.<sup>21</sup> According to this account, the Kulin, of whom the Wurunjerri form only one tribe, were told by Bunjil to divide themselves into two parts. "*Bunjil* on this side and *Waang* on that side, and *Bunjil* should marry *Waang*, and *Waang* marry *Bunjil*." In his account of this narrative Howitt compares it with the well-known myth of the Dieri, ignoring the fact that in the latter it was the totemic groups which were instituted either by the order of a superior being or by the commands of the elders. It is noteworthy that, though the Wurunjerri have only two moieties, one is definitely connected with a totem. There is little doubt that we have to do with a much modified social system, and this isolated example of a myth concerning the origin of the dual organisation suggests that it may be a survival of a totemic myth, the subject of which has been transferred to the dual system.

In another case in which the matrimonial classes are concerned, the evidence is conflicting. According to Spencer and Gillen,<sup>22</sup> the four class names of the Arunta were first conferred by certain Ullakupera or little hawk men, these Ullakupera men already belonging to these classes.<sup>23</sup> It is expressly stated that it was the names,

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 491.

<sup>22</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 396.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 394.

Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, and Kumara, which were conferred by the visitors, and the narrative does not say that these people instituted the classes, much less the dual organisation which underlies them.

The narratives recorded by Strehlow<sup>24</sup> give a somewhat different account. In one place<sup>25</sup> it is said that, when the *rellā manerinja* or *intarinja* (the *Inapertwa* of Spencer and Gillen) were first visited by the *altjirangamitjina* (the Alcheringa ancestors of Spencer and Gillen), they were already divided into eight classes. Later<sup>26</sup> it is stated that, when Mangarkunjerkunja, whose totem was a fly-catching lizard, came from the north, he instituted the rules of marriage between the classes, which, it is again stated, had been already distinguished from the beginning.

Taking the accounts of Strehlow and of Spencer and Gillen together, it seems clear that the narratives do not give an account of the formation of the dual system or of the matrimonial classes, but of some change in the functions of this social grouping in the regulation of marriage.

The position to which we have now been led is that, when Australian myth deals with the origin of social institutions, it is usually the totemic system which forms the special topic of the narrative, and not the dual system and matrimonial classes which seem to form the essential basis of the social structure. This suggests that Australian totemism has become the subject of myth, not through its social importance but for some other reason, and for this other reason we have not far to seek. I suggest that it is the magico-religious importance of totemism, and not its social functions, which have made it so exceptionally and prominently the subject of Australian myth. If so, it will follow that the preoccupation of Australian narrative with social forms is largely apparent rather than real, an appear-

<sup>24</sup> *Mythen, Sagen und Märchen des Aranda-Stammes in Zentral-Australien*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1907.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

ance due to the exceptional development of the magico-religious aspect of totemism in Australia.

Even, however, if it be conceded that the prominence of social forms in Australia is a secondary result of the close connection of these social forms with magico-religious functions, we are still left with the fact that Australian myth does not deal solely with the magico-religious aspect of totemism, but that its purely social aspect occurs explicitly as the direct subject of myth. We cannot get over the fact that, even though the social side of totemism may be subsidiary, it yet has a social side which is the subject of myth. Further, we have the fact that Australian myth has not altogether passed over the dual organisation and matrimonial classes which have, so far as we know, a more purely social function. Though I have lightened my task by bringing in the magico-religious importance of totemism as the main motive for its prominence in myth, I have not disposed of the whole problem, but am still left with the necessity of explaining how the social aspect of totemism and the purely social dual system have come to be subjects of myth.

I have now to point out a condition which would make social forms such an object of attention, and even of mystery and wonder, that we may readily understand their becoming a fit subject for the mythic fancy. The statement on which I have hitherto relied, that social structure is too familiar to become the subject of myth, is only true so long as a people remains homogeneous and undisturbed by outside influence. If the social system of the Australians has been the result of a process of development working itself out within a homogeneous people, I cannot believe that there would ever have arisen myths so intimately associated with social institutions as those of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes. If, on the other hand, the Australians are not a homogeneous people, but if their social institutions have arisen through a blend of widely different forms

of culture belonging to different peoples, then there would be full opportunity for wonder and mystery such as are necessary to set in action the mythic fancy.

Imagine a society founded on the simple dual principle coming into contact with a people organised in totemic clans and having as a fundamental part of their psychology the belief in the identity of certain groups of men with certain kinds of beast or plant. Here we have every ground for curiosity amounting to wonder and for a sense of mystery amounting to awe. To the non-totemic people the social grouping founded on identity with animals must appear strange and wonderful; the totemic members of the united people would be plied with questions concerning the motives and causes of the strange relation, and ample scope would be allowed for the play of imagination out of which myths arise.

I have elsewhere suggested <sup>27</sup> that the various forms of social organisation found in Australia are the outcome of such a blend of peoples as I have just asked you to imagine, and this paper only takes the suggestion a step further. If the narratives of the Australians are myths, I can only see in them evidence of the blending of peoples; it may be of peoples possessing widely different forms of totemism, or it may be of a totemic people with one to whom relations with totemic animals and plants were altogether new and strange.

At this point I must return to the creation-myths which seemed to furnish so great an obstacle to the acceptance of the generalisation that man does not make myths about the familiar. Here, again, I believe that the explanation lies in the complexity of culture. So long as mankind lives undisturbed, so long will his own existence and that of the earth on which he lives form such a part of the established and constant order of his life that his imagination will be untouched. If, however, men come from elsewhere, and

<sup>27</sup> *Loc. cit.*

especially if these have physical features and language different from his own, immediately will mystery and wonder be aroused. Myths will arise, or, if the strangers have a culture of which creation-myths form part, these will be transferred and transmitted and become part of the permanent heritage of the people.

It is noteworthy that creation-myths occur among the Australians, and that they are intimately blended with the narratives in which the description of social relations plays so prominent a part. In this combination of social myths with those accounting for the creation of man himself I see only another indication of the complexity of Australian culture.

So far I have assumed without question that the narratives of the Arunta and other tribes of central Australia are myths, the pure product of the human imagination, serving to account for certain of their social institutions and customs. From a study of myths having natural phenomena as their subject I was led to formulate the principle that man does not make myths about the familiar and the uniform, but rather about that which is exceptional and inconstant. Then, applying this principle to myths having social conditions as their subject, I have tried to show that, in so far as such social conditions are the subject of myth in Australia, they can only be fully explained on the assumption that Australian society is complex and has arisen through the mixtures of peoples possessing different forms of social organisation. I suppose it to have been the sense of mystery aroused in one people by the social practices of another which acted as the seed and fertiliser of the mythic fancy.

It will follow that, if the Australian narratives are myths, they are not empty and meaningless fancies, but have a very definite sociological significance. If the principle which I have formulated is correct, Australian mythology

provides clear evidence of a social condition of fundamental importance, the complex nature of Australian culture.

If, then, the Australian narratives are myths, they possess definite sociological significance. There remains to be considered the possibility that they are not myths. In an early part of this paper I pointed out an important feature which differentiates myths dealing with social conditions from those which have natural phenomena as their subject. In the case of narratives which give an account of social conditions, it is always possible that we have to deal, not with myths, but with historical traditions. I have now to consider this possibility.

All the narratives of central Australia with which I have been dealing have a remarkable similarity of content. All of them give an account of beings, coming from the north, who introduced certain elements of the material and magico-religious culture and modified the social institutions. It is a remarkable fact that the content of the narratives should thus point unmistakably to just such a mixture of cultures as I have been led to postulate on the assumption that the narratives are myths. I do not now propose to discuss how far the Australian narratives are historical or mythical, or to what extent they are compounded of both elements. I content myself with pointing out that, whether these narratives be historical traditions or myths, they lead to the same conclusion, the complexity of Australian culture. If the opponents of such complexity reject the view that these narratives are historical traditions, they still have to face the position it has been my purpose to establish this evening. These narratives are either historical or mythical, and, whichever alternative be chosen, we are led to the complexity of Australian culture. The opponents of this complexity can only escape from the dilemma by denying one or both of the two main principles on which my argument is based, viz. the fundamental character of social

structure, and the failure of the familiar to arouse the mythic fancy.

There may be some who will accept this complexity and yet hold that it may have arisen through conditions present within Australia itself. It is possible that widely different forms of social organisation may have evolved in different parts of Australia, and that, when one of these was carried from one part of the continent to another by a movement of people, it seemed sufficiently strange to strike the imagination and become the subject of myth. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to consider this possibility, nor can I now attempt to develop the lessons to be learnt from the Australian narratives if their sociological significance be accepted. The object of this paper has been to formulate a principle to guide us in the study of social myth in general, and I have only chosen the Australians as my example because social myth seemed to be so well developed among them. I must leave for another occasion the inquiry into the exact nature of the social complexity which is indicated by the Australian narratives.

I cannot refrain, however, from concluding my paper with a suggestion that the main conclusion I have reached may furnish the solution of a problem which I used to introduce my subject. One of the grounds on which Mr. Lang rejects the historicity of Arunta myth<sup>28</sup> is that, as soon as the *Inapertwa*, or "undifferentiated animated bulks," became fully formed human beings with totems, they found themselves in possession of the distinction between elder and younger brother. The story runs that a number of newly made men and women were killed and eaten by certain evil beings called *Oruncha*. One man who had escaped the slaughter proceeded to search for his *okilia* or elder brother, and, when he had found his head, was able to bring him back to life. "How can we take as historical evidence," says Mr. Lang, "fables which transplant, into the first dawn

<sup>28</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 119.

of humanity, the terminology of the present classificatory system?" So long as we regard the narrative as an indigenous account of the origin or creation of mankind, so long will it be contradictory and not to be explained save as the uncontrolled and meaningless product of the rude imagination. If, on the other hand, the narrative records, though in mythical form, the settlement of one people among another who, though far inferior to the strangers in material culture and intelligence, yet possessed the classificatory system of relationship, it is no longer obscure or contradictory, but one which will, I hope, fit in with and confirm other results of the ethnological analysis of Australian culture.

W. H. R. RIVERS.



## COLLECTANEA.

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### COTSWOLD PLACE-LORE AND CUSTOMS.

(Read at Meeting, May 15th, 1912.)

BEFORE cultivation disturbed the surface of the soil, the Cotswolds must have been almost as rich as the Wiltshire Downs in earth-works and other prehistoric remains. From the outlying Bredon Hill, north of Tewkesbury, to the high ground above Bath, we can follow a chain of encampments, almost every ridge and every commanding knoll bearing traces of early occupation; while the high plateau that slopes down from those spurs to the Thames valley is dotted with other Camps that linked the men of the West to the dwellers on the Berkshire and Wiltshire Downs.

This range of hills once formed a natural boundary-line between conflicting races. Here Saxons and Celts faced each other across the broad Vale of Severn. The dialects, both of the hills and of the vale, show fewer traces of Celtic influence than might have been expected; but Celtic place-names,—e.g. *Pen Wood*, *Owlpen*, and the very frequent suffix *-combe*,—point to the survival of a considerable Celtic population in the midst of the English settlers. Later streams of Welsh invaders are referred to in significant terms by one of our local historians:<sup>1</sup> “In these incursions [*temp.* Richard II.] originated, I think, the prejudice, which gave birth to the cant term of our own day, of *Over-Severn-Man*.”

Again, the Cotswold country was for some centuries debatable ground on the borders of Mercia and Wessex. The Mercian see

<sup>1</sup> T. D. Fosbrooke, *Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts respecting the County of Gloucester; formed into a History, &c.* Gloucester (1807), vol. i. page 37. Fosbrooke was for many years Rector of Dursley.

of Lichfield christianized the northern parts of Gloucestershire; St. Ealdhelm and the half-Saxon, half-Celtic missionaries from Malmesbury penetrated into the southern spurs of our hills.

The vicissitudes and disputes of border life have left an enduring mark upon the character of the people. When a stranger was probably an enemy, and even the friends and allies of to-day might become the foes of to-morrow, Cotswold folk naturally learned to be suspicious of strangers, reserved with each other, and always on the defensive. They are so still, to a very marked degree; distrust seems to be their natural attitude towards the world in general.

The physical features of the country have not tended to modify the exclusiveness of the people. One wind-swept hill was cut off from the next by an intervening stretch of swamp and bog in the narrow valleys. Even until a century or so ago, many of the main roads wound along the sides of the hills, because the lower ground was impassable in winter. The notorious hardships of Cotswold journeys led Shakespeare to define the scene of *King Richard II.*, Act II. Sc. iii., as "The Wilds in Glostershire":

*Bolingbroke.* How far is it, my lord, to Berkley now?

*Northumberland.* Believe me, noble lord,

I am a stranger here in Glostershire:

These high wild hills, and rough uneven ways,

Draw out our miles, and make them wearisome.

As the people "kept themselves to themselves," and were cut off from their neighbours by difficulties of travel, the Cotswolds became a lonely backwater of life, where old ways died hard and old thoughts were bitterly opposed to new ideas. For instance, the villagers of Avening, near Nailsworth, were until quite lately noted for their aversion to newcomers. "They just made it uncomfortable for strangers," I was told. And if an outsider dared to woo an Avening girl, the lads of the place would set upon him and drive him forcibly away. I know a Minchinhampton man, aged about 50, who got his nose broken for courting at Avening!

In such a neighbourhood one is not surprised to find many folklore survivals. Most of the tales and customs which I have collected have not hitherto been noted down. I am convinced

that a very large harvest yet remains to be gleaned, even in the narrow area of the mid-Cotswolds which I have tried to explore. To the north of Cheltenham and south of Dursley are stretches of absolutely unexplored country, from which much is to be expected. My informants have been farmers, labourers, village shopkeepers, gardeners, and other working men and their wives, and a few educated persons,—rarely under middle age, and in such cases the children of old natives. I have suppressed the names of uneducated persons, lest by any chance this article should come to their knowledge, and their habitual reserve turn into absolute silence when such topics are broached; but I have a record of every item and its source. All has been collected since 1905.

Except for a few trifling scraps of miscellaneous character, the lore which I have gathered is richer in customs than in beliefs. I have met with only one scrap of faith in fairies,—viz. that they cause fairy-rings to come on the grass. In short, the whole of my material groups itself practically under two heads: Place-Lore, with special reference to prehistoric remains, and Calendar Customs.

### I. *Place-Lore.*

*Wells.*—In the hill country the soil on the higher ground is very shallow, but there is an outbreak of springs wherever the upper stratum of Oolite meets the underlying fuller's earth, at about the 500-ft. level or lower. The primitive Camps found their water supply just under the brow of the hill, and many springs (or "wells," as the countryman calls them) now in use show their connection with early man by having worked flints in their neighbourhood. These wells are in some notable instances valued for the cure of sore eyes.<sup>2</sup> A well often bears a distinctive name, and one of the village streets may be named after it. At Tetbury, in the low ground commanded by the remains of a ring of earthworks which once enclosed the sites of the church and the "Bartons" (which I think represents the old Manor House), two springs called "Cut Well" and "The World" are

<sup>2</sup> "The water of the well [of ye Earle of Abington in his Parke at Ricot] is held to be good for the Eies," J. Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, F.-L. Soc. ed., p. 121; and see R. C. Hope, *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England*, pp. 12, 30-1, 34, 77, 123, 140.

still visited by patients, who take home some of the water in a bottle. At "Tibby Well," down "Tibbywell Lane," Painswick, an elderly woman, drawing the water for household use, told me she had mixed some of it with bread and made a poultice which cured her husband's eyes; the virtue was more in the water than in the bread. At Bisley, where the fame of the old well on Rose Hill is being eclipsed by a well-dressing at another spring,—a modern fake dating from 1863,—I talked with an old native on the day of the well-dressing. She was most emphatic about the virtue of the old well. "'Tis splendid water for the eyesight; 'tis *against the sunrising*." An unnamed well at Avening, which cures sore eyes, has its water "over against the sun."<sup>8</sup> At Minchinhampton, "Drooper's Stream" is a small spring (now almost, if not quite, dried up by drainage of the higher land), which lies just outside the village, at the foot of Well Hill. It was used for sore eyes as recently as 1906. An old man in an adjoining cottage told me that patients used to leave bits of rag in the adjacent wall. At Malmesbury, on the very edge of the Cotswold country, "St. Aldhelm's Well" breaks out under a cottage just below the Abbey. The cottager told me that Roman Catholics still visit and revere it, and also "Daniel's Well," lower down the slope. "Box Well," near Boxwell Church, is famous for the cure of rheumatism; the water is taken home in bottles. There was a healing well on the lower slope of Kingsdown, Bristol, in the Barton, outside the old city walls. "Tinker's Well," Frocester; "Holy Well," Sheepscombe; "Cox Well," Cirencester (now quite built over); "Holy Well," on Haresfield Beacon; "Mussell's Well," Churchdown; and a well for sore eyes at Cherrington, are other noteworthy springs.

*Pools.*—In this high and dry district I have met with only one other bit of water-lore. At Cherrington Pool, which is said to be of unfathomed depth, there used to be the ghost of a man fishing. He was identified with a local gentleman of bad reputation. "We did look for him many a time by the pool when I was a child," said the old dairymaid who told me.

<sup>8</sup> So Rev. W. E. Frost of Avening. Mr. Frost thinks it is a general belief in this district that any water on which the sun shines at dawn is good for the eyes. I have not yet been able to verify this.

*Earthworks.*—If the natural formation of the ground has decided the relative positions of Camp and spring, it has decided too the form of the Camp itself. Sometimes a spur with its steep sides is cut off from the plateau behind it by a line, or lines, of earthworks; sometimes the whole of the hill-top is fortified by earthworks conforming to the natural shape of the hill, as at the magnificent "Uley Bury." Thirdly, a portion of a plateau may be enclosed by a curved line of embankments, with the ends resting on the escarpment; to this type belongs the largest of all our Cotswold earthworks, Minchinhampton Camp, which, from an unusual combination of circumstances, offers so many points of interest that I feel it deserves more detailed study than I can give.

The Camp is one of three upon a tongue of flat, high ground running north-west from the watershed of the Thames to the small town of Stroud, whence several valleys run up into the hills like the arms of a fiord. The three Camps stand 600-700 ft. above sea-level: Rodborough, a mere indeterminate fragment; Amberley (about 60 acres), a low, worn mound with its ends on the escarpment and "Sprig's Well" in the hollow below; and Minchinhampton, with a mound and inner ditch enclosing some 600 acres, similarly situated above "Drooper's Stream" and "Bubble Well." All three Camps were once in the same parish of Minchinhampton, in the Hundred of Longtree. The country people say they were put up "in the time of the war," but no other lore attaches to the actual earthworks as far as I can ascertain. On the hill-top are hundreds of pit-dwellings, which have escaped destruction because of Common grazing rights; some flint implements are found, and there have been tumuli, of which a round barrow called "Whitfield's Tump" (after the great preacher) still remains. Now, in almost every case hereabouts, the ancient Camps of the Cotswolds lie deserted on the hill-tops, with a modern town or village further down the slope, if there is a neighbouring community at all. But the little old town of Minchinhampton is huddled up in the north-east corner of the earthworks, as if cramped for room, yet standing quite clear of the mound except where the sites of the old Manor House and the church have made a gap in the great curve. Beyond church and rectory the earthworks reappear in what were

once the Common arable fields, and end at Woeful Dane's Bottom, to which I shall refer presently.

*Town-removal traditions.*—Although there can have been no breach of continuity in the occupation of the site from very early times, I have met with a removal tradition at Minchinhampton. A small cattle-dealer gave it in this form: "Hampton was built at first about a mile further east, but there was no water supply, so they moved it." I was inclined to put this down as a variant of the church-removal tradition (see below), but, on the other hand, other traditions of town-removal or town-destruction exist at Frampton Mansell,<sup>4</sup> near traces of earthworks, and at a valley below the village of Camp, two miles north of Bisley.

*Church-removal traditions.*—At Bisley and Minchinhampton there are also church-removal traditions, and another at Churchdown, near Cheltenham; in all three places the devil is said to have pulled down by night the work that was done during the day, and in each case the legend is connected with a prehistoric hill-top site. But at Churchdown, contrary to the general rule, the site which could not be built upon was at the foot of the hill, the church being actually built upon the summit.

*Common lands.*—Minchinhampton offers an excellent example of a hill-top community, with Common grazing grounds stretching to the escarpment on the west, and Common arable fields (finally enclosed about 1812) as far as the scene of the removal-tradition on the east. Within living memory, anyone had the right to build a dwelling on the grazing common, if he could once light a fire upon the hearth before he was interrupted. Neighbours used to help each other in the hasty erection of a dwelling while the Hayward was being well plied with drink in some other quarter.

Looking across the western valley that bounds Minchinhampton Common, we see Selsley Hill, which is partly Common, and has earthworks, including a tumulus called "The Toots."<sup>5</sup> On

<sup>4</sup> G. F. Playne, *On the Ancient Camps of Gloucestershire* in *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club* (1877), page 215.

<sup>5</sup> On "Toot Hills" see W. Johnson, *Byways in British Archaeology*, pp. 70 *et seq.* He derives the name from A.S. *tōtian*, "to project, to peep," in allusion to the swelling or protuberance of the ground.

Selsley Hill is a small enclosed piece known as "Kill Devil Acre." An old farmer accounted to me for the name by the story of a man who was promised that he should have as much land as he could fence round in a day. He fenced in this piece (no doubt with a dry wall, as is usual here), and then fell down dead of overwork. Another version of the story was given me in these words by Miss Fennemore, of Randwick:—"Some man, having taken a fancy to this piece, determined to enclose it for his own use. To ensure safety and success, he determined to do this by night, so that he might not be disturbed, as his success depended upon his being able to build a row of stones round it, make a rough chimney, and light a fire therein, after which no one dared molest him. He worked all through the night, but died as he finished the task."

About two miles south-west of Minchinhampton, in Horsley parish, is Letchmore (or Ledgemoor) Bottom, which has "soldiers' graves" and a "Bloody Field." The name Letchmore is significant, and the place is said to be "queer." Horsley Common Fields once ran down to the Bottom, which adjoins Longtree Bottom, whence the Hundred took its name. It is a lonely, eerie spot. Above it is a small field called "Dead Woman's Acre," because a woman once said that she would reap the piece in one day or die; she did reap it, but dropped down dead as soon as the task was finished. An old woman at Avening told me this story by the roadside, when I asked her the way to Letchmore Bottom.<sup>6</sup>

*Cromlechs*.—Until early in the nineteenth century there was a stone circle just beyond the unenclosed "Hampton Field," on the extreme east of Minchinhampton parish. The rector carted away all the stones, and set them up against his stable wall, where they are now to be seen.<sup>7</sup> The site of this cromlech, a lonely dip between low hills, but still on high ground, is "The Devil's Churchyard," the scene of the church-removal tradition already mentioned. There are two other stories concerning it. A lad in

<sup>6</sup> Both tales bear a family likeness to the subject of Tolstoy's short story *How Much Land Does a Man Want?* and it would be interesting to know if he based it upon a local folk-tale of Russian or Tartar origin.

<sup>7</sup> Not at the present rectory, but at the house called "The Lammas."

the nearest village (Cherrington) gave one as follows :—"Once there lived a tailor who worked on Sundays. One Sunday he met a strange man, who asked him to make a suit of clothes, and the tailor whipped out his tape to measure. "Do you know who I am?" asked the stranger. "Yes, you're the Devil!" said the tailor; and then he was frightened and ran home. When he met his wife he fell down dead. They buried him at the Devil's Churchyard, and the stones were tombstones." The other version was told to my informant, a woman about 60, by her mother, a farmer's wife, as a warning against breaking the Sabbath :—"There was once a man who used to go nutting on Sundays. As he was going down Half-Mile Lane, that leads to the Devil's Churchyard, he stretched out his hand to a fine bunch of nuts, saying,—“Here goes one!” Then to another, saying,—“Here goes two!” And a *black hand* was stretched out from the other side of the hedge, and it grabbed the man, with “Here goes three!” in a terrible voice. So he died, and was buried at the Devil's Churchyard, for the black hand belonged to the Devil.” The Devil's Churchyard is held to be a most uncanny spot; you are supposed to see men without heads there, (so one of my jobbing gardeners confessed), and dogs, and unknown horrors. A man who works on the roads told me that once he and a friend were poaching round there after midnight, and were terribly scared by “a noise like bagpipes.”

*Menhirs.*—Two menhirs, “Cob Stone” and “Picked Stone,” were destroyed on or near Minchinhampton Common, about seventy years ago.

Still standing is the curious “Ragged Jonathan” or “Holey Stone,” about 5 ft. high, pitted all over with small regular cup-like depressions. It has been used at some time as a milestone; but one old inhabitant says he thinks it came from the Devil's Churchyard, while another says that children used to be lifted over it to cure whooping-cough. I have also been told that the holes in the stone were made by Oliver Cromwell's guns.

Much more famous than “Ragged Jonathan” is a perforated menhir about a mile to the east of Minchinhampton. It was formerly surrounded by the Common arable fields, to one of which it gave the name of “Longstone Field.” Once, when they were



ploughing there with oxen, they yoked a good many together, and tried to pull the Longstone out of the ground, but "something" held it firm. (A similar story was told me by a countryman on the Wiltshire Downs, of the fine dolmen known as "The Devil's Den," near Marlborough. The chains with which the horses and oxen pulled at the dolmen always flew in pieces.) Further, "when the Longstone hears the clock strike twelve, it runs round the field," as almost every child in the place will tell you.<sup>8</sup> Within living memory, children with whooping-cough and rickets used to be put through one of the holes in the stone. Traditions of bloodshed also cling round the Longstone; some say that it marks the burial place of a Danish chief killed in a battle at "Woeful Danes' Bottom," about half a mile distant, where "the blood ran as high as the wheels of a cart," and the victory was won by women who gave the Danes poisoned pancakes to eat.<sup>9</sup> At the battle of "Woeful Danes' Bottom," which is much talked about, "the soldiers shot through the holes of the Longstone"; and all the tumuli or "tumps" in the neighbourhood are held to be "the soldiers' graves." Three or four years ago, a farmer found a quantity of bones in a mound hard by. An underground passage, popularly supposed to go from a house called "The Lammass" (on or adjoining the site of a priory) to Minchinhampton Church, also "ran with blood" at the time of the battle!

"Woeful Danes' Bottom" is a place for ghosts. Men on horseback come through the gate at night. A woman told me how she was followed one night, along the road leading to the Bottom, by a ghostly dog. "I could see right through him, through his ribs." In all this atmosphere of bloodshed and ghostliness the Longstone too is shrouded.

In Avening parish, about half a mile south of the Longstone, is "Tinglestone," a menhir crowning a long barrow; Mr. Frost of Avening tells me that it too "runs round the field when it hears the clock strike twelve." "Crackstone" Farm, also

<sup>8</sup> A similar story is told of the Rollright Stones; see [Sir] A. J. Evans, "The Rollright Stones and their Folk-lore," *Folk-Lore*, vol. vi., pp. 24 *et seq.*

<sup>9</sup> There are other traditions of Danes near Bisley, and near Sapperton is a road called "Daneway" or "Denaway,"—the latter form probably preserving the O.E. genitive plural.

near "Woeful Danes' Bottom," suggests another vanished menhir.<sup>10</sup>

*Tumuli and Buried Treasure.*—On the opposite side of the road to the Longstone, in what was also once part of the Common field, is Gatcombe Tump, a long barrow, of which the following story is told. I got it from a middle-aged woman who keeps a small shop; her mother, from whom she heard it, knew the heroine of the story. "There was an old woman in Minchinhampton who used to charm ailments; she was called Molly Dreamer, because her dreams came true. She dreamed that she would find a pot of gold in Gatcombe Tump, and she and her husband dug there many times. Once she actually had her hand on the pot, and was saying,—“Come up! Labour in vain!” when a spirit rose up and frightened her. At another time a spirit appeared to her husband there, and asked him to name five parish churches, [apparently as a condition of getting the gold], but he could remember only four.” One old inhabitant, who lived as a child at a farm quite near, lays the scene of Molly’s search at the Longstone itself, and adds that, just as she was lifting a stone that hid the treasure, there came a flash of lightning on to it, and Molly was never the same again. Some say, however, that she did find the gold. It is a fact that there have been finds in the near vicinity of the Longstone and the barrow,—of ornaments, flint chips, and arrow-heads.

In Bisley parish (“Bisley, God help us!”) there is, or was recently, a barrow called “Money Tump.” There is also a legend of hidden treasure in Pan’s Wood, Slad, near Stroud. People have tried to look for it, but have always been hindered by something happening,—accident or death,—or else the searchers have been scared away by mysterious noises.<sup>11</sup> Cottagers at the foot of Bredon Hill, near Tewkesbury, assured me in 1906 that there is treasure hidden near or under the Bambury Stone, which goes down to the Avon to drink when it hears the clock strike twelve.

Until three or four years ago, there was an ancient lime-tree, called “The Round Tree,” standing on a knoll at Hyde, in Minchinhampton parish. The trunk seemed to have forced its way

<sup>10</sup> For Bambury Stone, Bredon, see second section of paper.

<sup>11</sup> So Miss M. Warman, formerly of Slad parish.

between several great stones, which look as if they might have formed part of the chamber of a tumulus; and colour is given to this conjecture by a local saying that "it was where they buried the soldiers after a battle." Gold is also supposed to be buried there, and the place has a ghost.

*Caves.*—Not more than a hundred yards away from "The Round Tree" there is a kind of cave or hollow, with a great stone half-way across the opening; it is said to be the entrance to an underground passage leading to Minchinhampton. "In a time of battle, a queen took refuge there," said an old man in Hyde. There are terraces along the upper slope of the hill from Hyde to Bestbury, with France *Lynch* and Oakridge *Lynch* on the opposite side of Brimscombe Valley.

J. B. PARTRIDGE.

(*To be continued.*)

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#### DOOINNEY-OIE, THE NIGHT-MAN: A MANX FOLK-TALE.

[The following story was told to me by a Laxey man, J. R. Moore, now in New Zealand, who said that he had heard it in his youth from old Manxmen. The *Dooinney-Oie*, or Night-Man, seems peculiar to the Isle of Man, though he bears a faint resemblance to the Irish banshee.]

THE Night-Man lived in a lonely cave, well hid on the side of Cronk-y-Thonna, and he would sit there looking out over the ling of Glen Roy, the ruddy glen, as they were calling it. No person would go near that cave except the most daring boys, and even they had often cause to regret that they had put a sight on the Night-Man's home. Sudden pains would sometimes warn them off, or they would sprain their wrists or ankles. The children out that way after blackberries or hazel nuts would always be careful to give the place a wide berth, as they would be told to mind for their lives not to go too near. But for all that the *Dooinney-Oie* was useful to the folk of Laxey and the gills around, for he would give them warning of the approach of storms and so save the lines, nets, and pots of the fishermen of Old

Laxey, and sometimes even the lives of the men. The farmers and crofters, too, had often to thank him that they were able to gather their flocks down from the hillsides into places of safety. Like the *Fynoderee*, the Night-Man was always ready to help the people in every way he could, and many a piece of work would he do for them while they were in their beds asleep.

Once on a time he took a notion that he could give the warning of storms that were coming on, to more of the people in the gills around, if he could find a way to get on to the breast of Lhergy Grawe, so he took a whole month of planning, and at last he made a big chariot with two little wheels on one side and two big wheels on the other, and with it he was able to go on the sides of the Lhergy without any fear of getting capsized, and he had the seat hanging to the frame on strips of hide to save him from getting bumped going over the rough places on his road. Now he was putting the horses to one end to go, and then putting them to the other end to go back, and that was always keeping his chariot safe. After that the whole of Glen Roy and the Granane, and Glen Drink, as well as the Laxey gill, were able to look out in time. The spot where he was making his stand was right on the point of the breast of Lhergy Grawe. It was there he would blow his horn. One time a young man of the name of Joe Steveson was coming home late one still September night, and the moon shining bright on Lhergy Grawe, when he heard the horn of the *Dooinney-Oie*. He saw something strange shining in the ling on the brow of the mountain. He crossed over the river and climbed up the Lhergy to the place, and for sure there was the bugle horn the *Dooinney-Oie* was using left behind on the brow. But Joe, after looking well at it, though careful not to try it, was too terrified to carry it away with him, so he hid it. The *Dooinney-Oie* came back that night, and when he found that his horn was gone he went into a terrible rage, and the noise that he made was something to be remembered. The gills were echoing to his cries like rolls of thunder, and the people said that he was that wild that fire was flying out of his mouth. Poor Steveson got such a fright that he never did any more good.

And one night, when the Night-Man had just come to his stand on Lhergy Grawe, a Baldhoon man who had often vexed him by

shouting back across the valley, was in the Laxey gill coming home with a good sup at him [*i.e.* with a drop too much]. When he heard the horn he began shouting,—“Save thy wind and go thy ways home!” The *Dooinnie-Oie* didn’t mind him at first. Then he said something that made the *Dooinnie-Oie* jump out of his seat and rush down the Lhergy shouting and stamping till he was making the ground shake under him. Hearing the sound coming nearer and nearer the man got frightened, and took to his heels for his life, knowing now that he was in the way of danger. Luckily for him there was plenty of water in the river, and when the *Dooinnie-Oie* got to the bottom of the mountain he found the stepping-stones covered. He went back up the hill a little bit, then he took a run, gave a shout, made a leap, and over he went. Poor Joe knew now that there was only one chance for him, and that was to get to the house of a religious man that was on his way home, so he took to his heels for all he was worth, trembling with fear, as the shout was coming nearer and nearer. He got inside the house just when one big shout at the door made the *scraas* [turfs] shake on the rafters and the thatch rattle as if a shower of hailstones was coming down. Luckily that was all the harm the *Dooinnie-Oie* could do. Joe stopped there for that night, and took good care never to shout after the Night-Man any more.

Years after this, when the horn of the *Dooinnie-Oie* was seldom heard, a Grawe man took it into his head that the trees growing around the place where he used to come were a hindrance. So he went and made a new road from the *Chibbyr-y-Pherick* road, through the trees, but that didn’t coax him a bit. Then he took the notion that the poor Night-Man must be dead, and that, as he was such a faithful old friend of the people, he deserved a monument. So he went and got quarrymen and masons, and they put up a big round tower on the spot. The *Dooinnie-Oie* came to put a sight on it just before it was finished, but somehow or another it didn’t suit him, so he took hold of it, and gave one big shout out of him, and tore it every bit to the ground, and from that day to this he was never seen again.

Some say that he will come back once more, and some think that he never will. But on still evenings, when the sun is sinking

red into the banks of clouds that lie low on the grey sea, the farmers fancy that they hear far away on Lhergy Grawe the horn of the *Dooi-ney-Oie*—h-o-w-l-a, how-la-la !

Peel, Isle of Man.

S. MORRISON.

# FOLKLORE NOTES FROM THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.<sup>1</sup>

THE following notes are derived from L. B., an *habitant* girl from Montfort, P.Q.:

## 1. *Moon and Calendar Beliefs.*

To make hair grow, cut it on the third day after the new moon in three successive months. If cut at any other time, it will not grow again.<sup>2</sup>

For the same reason trees should be pruned on the third day of the new moon.<sup>3</sup>

A child born on the twelfth day of any month will be bad and unmanageable.

If you want branches of any flowering shrub to come out in time for Easter Sunday, cut them on the third Sunday before Easter and put them in water. [Spring is much later here than in England, and often does not really begin till April.]<sup>4</sup>

All animals born on Palm Sunday are piebald.

## 2. *Dreams.*

Many are apparently non-significant. Thus, to dream of negroes means nothing.

<sup>1</sup> The comparative notes of French folklore which follow are by M. Paul Sébillot.

<sup>2</sup> Pour la coupe des cheveux, on préfère la nouvelle lune, sans préciser le jour. (*Folk-Lore de France*, t. i., p. 44.)

<sup>3</sup> Les arbres doivent, en plusieurs pays, être élagués à la nouvelle lune, aussi sans précision de jours ; mais en certains pays, la Gascogne par exemple, il faut que la lune ait passé par un vendredi. (*Folk-Lore de France*, t. iii., p. 373.)

<sup>4</sup> Une branche de cerisier, mise dans l'eau avant la messe de Minuit de Noël, se retrouve fleurie au retour (Vosges). Dans les Ardennes, les Vosges, le Hainaut, la branche d'arbre fruitier placé dans une bouteille d'eau entre onze

To dream of fleas is lucky.<sup>5</sup>

If you dream of anything black and white, someone you know will die.

### 3. *Marriage Omens.*

If you fall while going downstairs, you will not be married that year.

If a girl uses any cooking utensil in preparing one meal and forgets to wash it till the next is due, she will die an old maid.<sup>6</sup>

If she cuts the ball of her thumb, she will lose her lover.

If two people, when unfolding a table-cloth or similar article between them, are clumsy and bungle the job, neither will marry that year.

If, when going to the door to open it, you take hold of the hinge side instead of the handle, *il n'y aura pas de garçon dans la maison* (no-one will come a-courting?).

### 4. *Visitors.*

A sneeze before breakfast means that visitors are coming.

To drop a knife means a male visitor, but a fork a female visitor.<sup>7</sup>

If potatoes stick to the bottom of the pot while boiling, visitors are coming.

### 5. *Weather Signs.*

To put on a table-cloth, or the like, wrong side up, means a change in the weather.

Putting on clothes wrong side out may mean the same, or may presage bad luck.<sup>8</sup>

heures et minuit de Noël se couvre de fleurs dans les six semaines qui suivent cette opération. (*Folk-Lore de France*, t. iii., p. 370.)

<sup>5</sup> Rêver de puces annonce en Haute-Bretagne des disputes, dans les Vosges des disputes de femme. (*Folk-Lore de France*, t. iii., p. 325.)

<sup>6</sup> La jeune fille qui laisse sa casserole ou sa marmite sur le feu après en avoir ôté la nourriture; celle qui oublie de la nettoyer, mourra fille.

<sup>7</sup> Le couteau ou les ciseaux qui tombent signe de visite, parfois de visite d'homme. (Paris et nombre de pays.)

<sup>8</sup> L'habit ou toute pièce de vêtement mis à l'envers amènent un changement de temps et surtout de la pluie. (Superstition générale dans l'Ouest.)

6. *Miscellaneous.*

To break a mirror means serious ill-luck.<sup>9</sup>

If a sick person wants to be moved to another bed or another room, he will die. Apparently, however, if he is moved without asking for it, to make the bed or the like, this is not necessarily fatal.

If two people wipe their hands on the same towel at the same time, they will quarrel (*se choquer*).<sup>10</sup>

To get a black streak on one's face from the stove or elsewhere portends a gift.

E. H. and H. J. ROSE.

<sup>9</sup> Briser un glace est un présage de malheur ou tout au moins de mauvaise chance. (Paris et plusieurs provinces.)

<sup>10</sup> Deux personnes qui s'essuient à la même serviette sont exposés à se quereller. (Superstition assez répandue.)

## MARRIAGE AND BIRTH ON THE LOWER CONGO.

THE following notes are additions to those already published in *Folk-Lore*<sup>1</sup> concerning marriage and birth on the Lower Congo.

*Clanship and marriage.*—When a slave woman belonging to one clan is *married* into another clan, she and her children do not belong to the latter clan, for, it is said, "The clan name is not sold with the fee paid for the woman." At any time the children can return to their mother's owner's clan, and take up their privileges of clanship. Such children are called *ana akwa Kinlaza*, (Kinlaza being the name of a clan); children born of a free woman of the Kinlaza clan are called *esi Kinlaza*. Just as a free-woman's children belong to her brother, so a slave-woman's children, (when she is married and not sold), belong to her master, who in this way occupies in regard to her the same position as the brother to the free woman.

*Betrothal custom.*—The appropriation of a female infant as a future wife by dropping a bead into a saucepan has already been

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xix., pp. 410-5, 418-23, 430-1; vol. xx., pp. 309-11, 477-9; vol. xxi., pp. 463-5, 467.



described.<sup>2</sup> This special saucepan is called *nsansilwa*, and is always kept near the fire so as to have hot water at any time for washing the baby etc. The bead must be dropped in within two days after the birth, and may be dropped in by a parent on behalf of a son. Only a member of those clans into which the girl could marry would drop in a bead. Although the marriage money will only be paid later, no one else could claim the girl. If a person thought unsuitable, or a stranger (though it is unlikely a stranger could get into the house), put in a bead, it would be returned to him; but, if there was no real kinship or clan reason why the person dropping in the bead should not in due time marry the girl, the return of the bead would be resented as a gross insult. As the saucepan is well guarded during the two days, only a small percentage of girls is actually bespoken in this way.

*Birth house and charm.*—The house in which a birth takes place is called *kialakazi*, and the new mid-rib or frond of a palm is shaken out and put over the door in order to ward off dangers of two kinds. In the first place it prevents molestation of the inmates of the house if a quarrel arises in the town, and in the second it warns persons who have eaten things which are the *mpangu* tabu of the child<sup>3</sup> not to enter the *kialakazi*. For example, if the *mpangu* of the child is goat's meat, any one who eats goat's flesh must refrain from entering the house, or the child will become sickly, and perhaps die. From some *kialakazi* fire must never be taken out, though fire may be taken in. At the end of the first month the palm frond is removed, as the child is then regarded as strong enough to be unaffected by such malign influences. The same sign of a new palm frond is used by a person in a town, or by a whole town, to indicate neutrality in any local war, and ensures respect by the local antagonists.

*Food tabus.*—In the neighbourhood of Wathen Station the women will not eat *ngola* (the cat-fish or baghre) for fear of barrenness, and around San Salvador, for the same reason, women will eat no birds except *ngumbe* (an African pheasant) and *nkelele* (guinea-fowl) until they have given birth to a boy and a girl. A tabu called *nkamba*,—usually forbidding the eating of one of the

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xix., p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xx., p. 308.

siluroid fishes or, occasionally, goat's flesh,—may be laid on a woman for a time only, *e.g.* until she becomes pregnant, or until a child is born or weaned, or until both a boy and a girl have been born. When several children of a married couple have died in succession, a witch doctor will often recommend that the influence of the fetish power *wumba* shall be invoked, and a ceremony previously described<sup>4</sup> is performed. This is followed by a feast in which the couple eat goat's and pig's flesh, fish, and eels, and certain foods will afterwards be tabued to the pair. The first child born afterwards will be named Wumba.

*Childbirth tabu.*—For a month the wife is not allowed to cook for a man, or to touch a man or anything belonging to him. Even her husband's food must not be cooked in the same house.

J. H. WEEKS.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xxi., p. 464.

## SCRAPS OF ENGLISH FOLK-LORE, VI.<sup>1</sup>

### *Cambridgeshire.*

ON February 14, 1911, I came across a piece of superstition in this parish which may be of interest. An old woman (aged seventy-two) told me that she had a "bloodstone," *i.e.* a stone to stop all bleeding, and she showed it to me. It is a dark-green marble-shaped bead, apparently of very roughly made glass, rather more than half an inch in diameter, and with a hole through it. On it are five wavy lines, two white and three orange, inlaid (not painted). They *might* represent snakes, but *not* Arabic writing. It must be hung on a red silk, preferably twisted silk such as is "used for buttonholes in a soldier's coat," with three knots, the first at about three inches from the stone, the next at another three inches, and so on. Then some drops of the blood must be allowed to fall on it. It must hang low down on the back over the shoulders next to the skin. Then, as the blood dries on the stone, so the blood in the body dries up, and

<sup>1</sup> For V. see vol. xxi., pp. 222-7.

the bleeding stops. No words of any kind are said over it. (I asked about this most particularly.) The stone was bought for her father, when he was a lad, to stop his nose bleeding, by his grandfather, and cost three guineas. She mentioned several cases by name where she had found it effectual, the last being less than ten years ago. But she did not tell me the name in this case, or perhaps I could have tested her story. The man afterwards wore a necklace of large beads to stop the bleeding, but she does not know if it was any use, as he left the neighbourhood. She herself wore the bead once for six months continuously to stop her nose bleeding, and it was very effectual. She is a perfectly respectable person.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.<sup>2</sup>

Guilden Morden, Royston.

*Devon.*

The ash-faggot is still burnt in some farmhouses "to burn up all the bogeys" and other evil things. "They flies away up the chimney I've heard tell." An ash-faggot was brought into the house where I was staying, by the gardener, on Christmas Eve, 1911, and we were told that we must burn it that night and drink whilst it burnt, till it fell to pieces. This Yule faggot was wired. We were not told anything about bogeys, only that we must drink for luck. (Bampton.)<sup>3</sup>

If the clock stops no news will come to the house. (Tiverton.)

A man at Bampton told me the following:—

"I never didn't transplant pars'ley. That's the worst thing you can go for to do. You sow some on a bed and lets it grow there, and that's all right, but if you digs it up and goes for to transplant it someone in the family's sure for to die."

Asparagus also must not be transplanted. Even with a growing moon it would not be lucky, "and some says as someone in the family'll go and die; but I says as they won't die anyhow's 'afore their time do be come; but I never go for to transplant 'sparagus nor pars'ley for sure."

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

<sup>2</sup> Communicated by Dr. J. G. Frazer.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. xx., p. 489.

*Gloucestershire.*

On Whitmonday, 27th May, 1912, the custom of "Cheese-bowling" was, as usual, carried out at the Wake held on Cooper's Hill, not far from the city of Gloucester. The custom, it is said, must be performed annually in order to preserve to the people the rights of common. According to the *Gloucestershire Echo* of May 28th, the master of the ceremonies, Mr. W. Brookes, who has officiated in this capacity for thirty years, appeared wearing, as usual, a brown top-hat which his parents won in a dancing contest many years ago, and with a chemise over his coat. He stood by the maypole and repeatedly called to the crowd to form "the alley" down the slope. "The course being clear, the Vicar opened the ball by sending the first 'cheese' (a disc of wood wrapped in pink paper) rolling down the hill. Helter-skelter ran nine young men after it, and most of them pitch-poled.<sup>4</sup> The first to secure the disc, stopped at the bottom by a hedge, had to trudge uphill again, and there exchange it for the prize cheese. . . . The 'Cheese-bowling' was varied by some rural sports on a stretch of flat ground near the maypole. These included running, jumping in sacks, and a tug-of-war, in which the lady contestants once more pulled stronger than the mere men."

W. CROOKE.

*Herefordshire.*

At Whitney-on-the-Wye there was formerly a stile called the "Cock-stile," because at nightfall a cock used to stand upon it, and crow as people passed. Probably the stile was in a wayside hedgerow, for the crowing of the cock frightened the horses of those who drove by. As the bird was supposed to be supernatural, one man, a miller, spoke to it in the name of the Trinity. The cock immediately led him to a spot where he found a hidden treasure; he took it and threw it into water, and after this the spirit-bird appeared on the stile no more. (From Mr. C. G. Portman, of Hay.)

At Weobley it is still believed that horses and cattle do not eat on Saints' Days. An old man said lately to his master: "Be it a

<sup>4</sup>A dialectic term for turning head-over-heels; cf. *The Oxford Dictionary*, s.v.

Saänt's daäy, maister? Them cattle 'anna touched a bent all daäy."

If a woman's petticoat hang below her dress they say "Your father likes you better than your mother!"

ELLA M. LEATHER.

*Huntingdonshire.*

A farmer's wife from Offord Cluny has given me the following information about local customs:—

The great day of the village year is Feast Sunday, the last Sunday in June, "when all friends meet," and girls in service take a holiday. Scarce a house in the village but has been 'done up,' papered, or painted to be ready for the Feast. Plum puddings are made, and fillets of pork prepared. About two weeks beforehand part of the hind leg is put in salt water; these 'fillets' are stuffed and boiled, and "everyone reckons to have new potatoes and green peas for the Feast. Things are very backward if they can't have them ready by Feast Sunday." And it is the only Sunday in the year when the bake-house is opened, so that anyone who wants to can have their dinner cooked there. Then on Feast Monday stalls are set up down the village street, and there is dancing in the evening. An old man used to bring his fiddle to the booth. "It is always called a Feast in the villages, and a Fair in the towns where there is a market." On Feast Tuesday the Sunday School children have their treat.

At Offord Darcy they have their Feast on St. Peter's (the following week to that of Offord Cluny), and the stalls are taken over and set up in that village.

Hiring takes place at the Michaelmas Fair in St. Neot's, called the "Stattis Fair." They are hired at "the Stattis," a statue on the market hill.<sup>5</sup> Servants go and stand there, and the farmers' wives and all the men, and they are hired for a year.

On Valentine's Day buns are given to the children by the squire's wife (now a widow), and the children must be careful to say 'Thank you' properly.

Buns with a cross on them are given on Good Friday by the clergyman.

<sup>5</sup> 'Statute' is a general term for a statutory Fair.

On May Day they carried garlands round, and asked people if they would like to see the garland. Money was collected, which was spent on a tea. The garland was hung up in the paddock, where the tea was, and in the evening they danced round it and threw balls through it, and had games. On the same day the men had their club feast and 'sharing out.' The Club did not walk in procession.

Eggs are always sold by the score.

"At Hinchinbrook Castle a monkey took Oliver Cromwell when he was a baby" and carried him on to the battlements. Nobody knew till "they heard the monkey laugh." Then they "got out all the feather beds from the Castle; but, however, the monkey didn't drop him, but carried the baby and laid him back in his bed again."<sup>6</sup>

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

#### *Kent.*

When, about 1897, a man of my acquaintance, living near Dartford, was ill of ague, one of the old women visiting him suggested that he should swallow a live spider, which would cause the *ague egg* to be vomited."<sup>7</sup>

F. WEEKS.

Throughout Lent the shops at Gravesend sell 'pudding-pies' (tartlets containing custard sprinkled with currants), and some people call the first Sunday in Lent "Pudding-pie Sunday." But I have been told that the pudding-pies should be eaten on the Sunday nearest the middle of Lent, *i.e.* Mothering Sunday.

At Fair-time (October 29th) there used to be sold at Gravesend,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1875), vol. i., p. 30; W. H. B. Saunders, *Legends etc. of Huntingdonshire*, pp. 238-9; and *N. and Q.*, 7th S., vol. vii., p. 26, for similar tale of Christian, the tyrant of Sweden.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *N. and Q.*, 1st S., vol. ii., p. 259 (*S. Ireland*); *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i. (*Suffolk*), p. 15. According to Douce's Ms. Notes (quoted in Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. (1855), p. 298, "It is usual with many persons about Exeter, who are affected with agues, to visit at dead of night the nearest cross-road five different times, and there bury a new-laid egg . . . and they are persuaded that with the egg they shall bury the ague."

as well as round gingerbread 'fair-cakes' decorated each with an almond, gingerbread cakes in the shape of a human being, but these are now no longer made.

"Don't turn the loaf upside down, or you'll drown the sailors," was told me by a Gravesender born at Devonport.

A robin flying in at one window and out of another is a sign of death.<sup>8</sup>

E. M. COBHAM.

Gravesend.

The following notes are derived from my maid, L. Symons, who comes from Sevenoaks :—

On Fridays Kentish people will not turn feather beds. They say it brings them bad luck all through the next week. They just shake them up well, and the same on Sundays.

If any of the family are ill they watch the candle burning, and if it runs down the side and goes round three times they call that a winding-sheet, and say it is a sign of death in the family.

If a rook flies over the front of the house and makes a noise they think that it is a sure sign of death.

They will not pass anyone on the staircase; they would rather go back again. They fancy it is very unlucky.

New boots put on the table they say will cause a row.

If two bells ring at the same time in the house, they say someone is going to leave before the year is out.

At Easter time they won't go out unless they have something new in the way of clothes. If it is only a pair of new gloves they are quite contented.

ESTELLA CANZIANI.

#### *Northumberland.*

My nephew met a woman carrying a baby in the lane by the church at Humshaugh. Without saying a word to him she put a parcel into his hand and walked off as quickly as she could. The parcel contained a piece of cake and three pennies. My nephew was the only person in the lane at the time. The baby had just been christened, and our cook (an old Northumberland woman)

<sup>8</sup> Cf. vol. xxi., p. 90 (*Argyllshire*), p. 223 (*Bucks*); Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties etc.*, p. 50.

said that they always did this at a christening, but that it ought to have been threepence in silver, not in copper; it had to be given to the first person the christening party saw—man, woman, or child.<sup>9</sup>

E. B. PITMAN.

An instance of a name taboo occurred a few years ago at my home in Beadnell. There, and very generally upon the Northumberland coast, the name of Graham is tabooed. This is the more strange as Graham is, of course, a common Border name. So far as I could find out, however, the prejudice against it does not extend beyond the coast, nor, in fact, beyond the fishermen. It was first brought to my notice when my father (Alfred Allhüsen, Beadnell Tower) was having the house repaired and re-papered. One of the workmen, from Newcastle, was named Graham. The fishermen, who made friends with all the other men,—taking them across to the Farne Islands and out in their boats on Sundays,—refused to have anything to do with this man, and made themselves so obnoxious to him that he had to return to Newcastle. I then began to make enquiries. I was told that once, in the winter, a stranger had come to the village, asking for Mr. Graham of Lughall. He went into a cottage where the women were baiting the hooks for the haddock lines. This means the baiting of five to seven thousand hooks—a whole day's work. Upon hearing the name of Graham, they directed the man to the house, but at once unbaited, and then re-baited, all the lines. The baker at Seahouses, who supplies the fishermen out here, is called Graham, but is, or then was, referred to by all the men as "Tom Puff"; no one would call him by his proper name, Tom Graham. I spoke about this to one of the old men,—a great friend of mine in whose boat I had often been out to haul his crabpots. He said that he knew well that the men would not get fish if they met a Graham, nor if they heard the name, unless they could at once touch cold iron. He himself did not know the origin of it, nor did he believe in it. "But,"

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. (*Northumberland*), p. 91, according to which bread and cheese, or spice-cake, cheese, and salt are handed to the first person met on the road to church. Cf. also Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. (1854), p. 81.



he said, "there was a queer thing happened. My daughter married Jack Graham of North Sunderland. I had been fishing that season with an Eyemouth boat. I hadn't been into Seahouses for six weeks. But I had heard that Jack had broken his leg and been kept a-bed. Well, one day, as we were going to Shields, I passed a Sunderland boat. I leant over and shouted as we passed her,—“Did ye hear how Jack Graham was?” And no sooner had I said the words than there was a crash, and the mast went over the side! “By God! will ye not believe us *now*?” said the skipper.” The prejudice is well known, and a local antiquarian suggested to me that Graham might be connected with the Grim Dykes, *i.e.* with the Devil. But the fishermen are not afraid to talk of the Devil, or swear by him.

E. L. ALLHUSEN.<sup>2</sup>

*Nottinghamshire.*

Elder wood is not burnt. “It is wicked wood, and won't burn,” they say. I told our gardener at Basford to burn an old tree which had been blown down, but he refused, giving as his reason that it was “wicked wood.” He did not know why elder wood was “wicked.”<sup>10</sup>

Game feathers were always thrown away in our house, and when I wanted them to be kept our cook said they were of no use, and, indeed, did a great deal of harm if used. “You would not be able to die if there were game feathers in your pillow,” she said.<sup>11</sup>

E. B. PITMAN.

*Oxfordshire.*

If a kettle takes long to boil it has a stone in it.

It is good luck to drop a letter before you post it.

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. vol. xx., p. 343 (*Worcestershire*); vol. vii., p. 380 (*Staffordshire*); *N. and Q.*, 1st S., vol. vii., p. 177 (no locality named); *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i. (*Gloucester*), p. 54.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties etc.*, p. 60; *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i. (*Suffolk*), p. 136; W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the N.-E. of Scotland*, p. 206; *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. i., p. 59 (*West Sussex*); *N. and Q.*, 1st S., vol. v., pp. 341, 412 (*Sussex and Surrey*); Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. (1854), p. 230 (*Cumberland, Derbyshire, Wales, Sligo, Mayo*).

The following items were told to me by my servant, D. J., whose native village is Maidensgrove :—

Love letters should not be destroyed, but the love letters of the man and the woman should be used to boil the kettle the first morning after marriage. The couple will then live happily ever after.

A bumble bee buzzing about a room is a sure sign that strangers are coming.<sup>12</sup>

D. J.'s sister, when a child, was told that, if she placed a little frog on her tongue and let it jump down her throat it "would be good for her." She did so, and the frog jumped down her throat. D. J. does not know whether "it did her good."<sup>13</sup>

E. WRIGHT.

*Worcestershire.*

*How the Hedgehog ran the Devil to Death.*—The following variant of a well-known folk-tale was obtained from the Rev. T. H. Philpott, of Hedge End, Botley, who learned it from his mother in Worcestershire :—

"A hedgehog made a wager with the Devil to run him a race, the hedgehog to have the choice of time and place. He chose to run up and down a ditch at night. When the time came the hedgehog rolled himself up at one end of the ditch, and got a friend to roll himself up at the other; then he started the Devil off. At the other end of the ditch, the friend said to the Devil,— "Now we go off again." Each hedgehog kept repeating this formula at his own end of the ditch, while the Devil ran up and down between them, until they ran him to death. This story would be introduced by the remark, "Now we go off again, as the Hedgehog said to the Devil.""

ELLA M. LEATHER.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. vol. xx., p. 344 (*Worcestershire*).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *County Folk-Lore*, vol. v. (*Lincolnshire*), p. 107.

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## IN MEMORIAM: ANDREW LANG (1844-1912).

BY EDWARD CLODD.

IN a letter which lies before me, George Meredith says: "Horribly will I haunt the man who writes memoir of me." If Andrew Lang did not utter a like threat, he expressed a like repugnance when he wished "for some short way with the Life and Letters plague." But the author of monographs on Lockhart, Tennyson, and others, and of the *Life, Letters, and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote*, would not, were it possible, resent the payment of a brief tribute to his genius and worth in the organ of a Society the furtherance of whose aims had no small place in his manifold interests.

"It has been a tradition in the Lang family that they originally came from Bohemia," says Sir Lauder Brunton in a letter to *The Times*,<sup>1</sup> and there is recognition of gipsy ancestry in the stanzas:

"Ye wanderers that were my sires,  
Who read men's fortunes in the hand,  
Who voyaged with your smithy fires  
From waste to waste across the land,  
Why did you leave for garth and town  
Your life by heath and river's brink,  
Why lay your gipsy freedom down  
And doom your child to Pen and Ink?"<sup>2</sup>

His father was John Lang, of Selkirk; his mother's maiden name was Jane Plenderleath Sellar (the name recalls his memoir of his uncle, Professor Sellar, prefaced to the posthumous volume on *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*); he was educated at Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he

<sup>1</sup> July 30, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> *Grass of Parnassus* (1892), p. 28.

took a first in Mods. and in Greats, securing election to a fellowship at Merton in 1868. From thence until his death his career was wholly that of a man of letters.

Other pens in other places have commented on his remarkable gifts as a writer, on his easily-worn equipment as a classical scholar, and on that marvellous versatility which "age could not wither nor custom stale," and to which a syndicate of assessors could do only bare justice. It would find ample business to hand in apportioning among its members a criticism of works, original and otherwise, filling sixteen pages of the British Museum catalogue. Here it must suffice to speak of his services to the twin sciences of folklore and comparative mythology. Invaluable as these services are to students of human psychology, the general public knows little, and cares little, about them, because the readers who looked to Andrew Lang for entertainment far outnumbered those who sought instruction from him. Even to some of the latter the pioneer work which he did in revolutionising accepted theories is but imperfectly known, since *Custom and Myth* was published as far back as 1884, and *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* in 1887,—the year before he was elected President of our Society, his membership of which dates from 1878, the year of its formation. For only those who were born two generations back can have memory of the stir made by Max Müller on the appearance of his article on "Comparative Mythology" in the *Oxford Essays*, 1856. His facile pen drew an attractive picture of the ancestors of the leading nations of Europe, and of certain peoples in Asia, dwelling on the Bactrian plateau, speaking a tongue and possessing a mythology which supplied the key to the language and traditions of the Indo-European races. That key, he argued, was found in tracing to their root-elements the names of Vedic gods and heroes, which were interpreted as natural phenomena, the sun, the dawn, and so forth. Hence was formulated that "solar theory" which so dominated us as to call from Matthew Arnold the humorous complaint that "one could scarcely look at the sun without having the sensations of a moth." Max Müller contended that the meaning of the name gave the clue to the meaning of the myth, and that the presence of coarse and grotesque features in the mythology of Hindu, Greek, Roman, and Teuton was mainly due to a

"disease of language" by which the primitive and purer nature-myth was corrupted; e.g. the story of Kronos devouring his offspring was the result of a vulgar misunderstanding of the swallowing of the Days by Time. The theory won well-nigh universal acceptance, and held the field for years until doubt was thrown on the validity of the equations; e.g. while Max Müller translated the Vedic goddess Urvashi as "the dawn," Dr. Roth translated that name as "lewd or wanton"! One by one the assumed equations were challenged, with the result that scarcely any have survived the more rigid tests of a later comparative philology.

Working, "in giant ignorance of Mannhardt,"<sup>3</sup> on the same lines of enquiry, Lang reached the conclusion shrewdly anticipated by Fontenelle, a nephew of Corneille, more than a century and a half ago, that "all nations invented the astounding part of their myths while they were savages, and retained them from custom and religious conservatism." Hence, to understand the ugly and crazy myths of civilized races, we must make ourselves familiar with the thoughts, manners, and myths of races who are now in the same savage state as were the prehistoric ancestors of Greeks, Romans, and other advanced peoples. This method is emphasised in Andrew Lang's last words on the subject in a posthumous review published nine days after his death.<sup>4</sup> "We knew little about the evolution of religion, or of social organisations and institutions, or of mythology, till we began to study them comparatively, by observing their forms, and as far as possible their development, among all peoples of whom we have sufficient knowledge."

It is, then, in his original contributions towards the supersession of the philological by the anthropological method of interpretation that the folklorist and the comparative mythologist owe Andrew Lang an incalculable debt. And there is warrant for the belief that he would have accepted in this recognition the most welcome tribute to the abiding features of his life-work.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lang, "Mr. Max Müller and his Adversaries," *Daily News*, Dec. 12, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> "The Heroic Age" (by H. Munro Chadwick), *The Morning Post*, July 29, 1912.

At this point an end might be made, were it not that, folklore being the psychical side of anthropology, his efforts to establish a working alliance between it and psychical research demand reference. These are urged in *Cock Lane and Common Sense*, published in 1894. He wanted the folklorist to see that such reported phenomena as ghosts, wraiths, and all their kind, are within the province of anthropology to deal with; and he regretted that "Folk-Lore officially refuses to have anything to do with the subject." And he wanted the psychical researcher, in examining evidence for the occult, not to neglect the evidence furnished by tradition, savage superstition, and aught else that comes under the purview of folklore. In this attempt, as a sort of "honest broker," he admitted that he, Psycho-Folklorist<sup>5</sup> as he dubbed himself when we had our bloodless duel over my Presidential Address, had "not quite succeeded," nor is success possible where the evidence of fact and the prepossessions of fancy essay harmony. "I have," he says, "been unable to reach any conclusion, negative or affirmative."<sup>6</sup> But the effort showed the open mind hesitating to dogmatise, although it brought him the title "our effective ally," bestowed by Dr. Walter Leaf. He accepted the presidency of the Society for Psychical Research, but his attitude towards the whole business remained elusive, sceptical. When Eusapia Palladino, the "humorist" as he called her, was detected in tricks which had "deceived the very elect," he remarked that "it looked as if psychical research does, somehow, damage and pervert the logical faculty of scientific minds."<sup>7</sup> Discussing these matters at the Savile Club some years ago, I quoted the verse "the devils also believe and tremble," when, with a twinkle, he replied, "I don't believe, but I tremble." Yet he gave some comfort to the psychists when, reviewing F. W. H. Myers' *Human Personality after Death*, he wrote: "I think (religious faith apart) that human faculty lends fairly strong presumption in favour of the survival of human consciousness."<sup>8</sup> And a like

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> *Cock Lane and Common Sense*, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Longmans' Magazine*, Dec. 1895, p. 320.

<sup>8</sup> *The Monthly Review*, March 1903, p. 95.

comfort came to those "who dwell at ease in Zion" in his quasi-assumption of primitive monotheism in the "High Gods" and "All Fathers" of lower races, on which the artillery of Mr. Sidney Hartland made havoc wellnigh as complete as were the effects of his own onslaught on the mythological theories of Max Müller and Herbert Spencer.

As for the man, apart from the writer, *de mortuis nil nisi verum*. Some of the obituaries,—that of *The Times*, for example,—speak of "a touch of superciliousness in his manner," and of an aloofness which barred intimacy. These were present, but they were only skin-deep, thin as the epiderm. Once penetrated, the warm human blood was felt, and if Andrew Lang was not of the rare company who have a genius for friendship, those who came to know him longest learned to appreciate him most. This was my experience, and the testimony may have more weight because our points of view sometimes differed fundamentally, and there was more than one skirmish between us. These only emphasised many kindly acts,—not least among them the thankless task, voluntarily offered, of reading one's proofs. I know that sometimes he gave offence by the tone of his reviews, the temptation to banter being too great to be resisted. But he bore no malice; and they who submit their wares to the critic must not be too squeamish over the verdict. Andrew Lang well and worthily maintained the high traditions of his calling, and in the sweetness and purity of home life he kept himself "unspotted from the world." He died at Banchory, and rests, "Life's tired-out guest," under the shadow of the ruined cathedral of his beloved St. Andrews.

EDWARD CLODD.

## ANDREW LANG: FOLKLORIST AND CRITIC.

It is hard to speak about Andrew Lang in a few words. As a writer and thinker he is exceedingly many-sided. Besides, I knew him as a friend, and as a correspondent from whom brilliant notes flew off like sparks from a smith's anvil. And he was likewise an integral part of Oxford,—at any rate, of what may be called the larger Oxford. If I may be allowed to indulge in personal reminiscence, when I first came up to Balliol, in 1885, Andrew Lang was very much before our eyes. I do not think that I was myself fortunate enough to meet him at the Master's, where so many of the personalities of the day were to be encountered. But every one of my generation delighted in his literary work, and especially in his poetry. Surely his poetry is, taken at the level of the lighter verse, of the very best quality, and deserving of even more fame than it has won. But for me in particular *Custom and Myth*, which was not long out, was a sign-post pointing down a path which I have pursued pleasantly ever since. It is to the credit of my college tutors that they both suggested the reading of the book, and tolerated anthropological allusions in the weekly Greats' essays. By the time I was ready to take my degree, anthropology might be said to have established itself somewhere within the broad penumbra of *Literæ Humaniores*. Of course the constructive work of our Professor of Anthropology, Tylor, helped largely towards this end. But Andrew Lang helped hardly less. As Plato says, young men love, like puppy dogs, to tear everything to pieces. Consequently our juvenile sympathies were all with Andrew Lang in his fight with Max Müller. Unworthy no less than worthy reasons were, I daresay, at the bottom of our partisanship, for those were the last days of the predominance of Comparative Philology amongst



the interests of the Classical School at Oxford; and, if our imaginations were fired by what we were told about Aryan origins, the study of Sanskrit roots proved a dry affair. Be this as it may, Andrew Lang's polemics carried us off our feet; and his indeed proved the winning side, though not because we shouted on it.

Oxford, I believe, is reputed to be in general stronger on the side of letters than on that of science. Where precisely the line is to be drawn between letters and science, especially in their relation to the subject of Man, is a question, I confess, on which I am rather vague, perhaps because I have enjoyed an Oxford education. In any case, Andrew Lang surely shows himself a true son of his *alma mater* in his handling of anthropology. He envisages it primarily as does the man of letters. Facts are facts, of course; but, in the case of human history, the facts are almost one with the values that they stand for. Thus, there is room in the branch of history known as anthropology for the writer whose taste and gift are less for description than for evaluation,—for the appreciation of the bearing of the facts on the universal hopes and loves and aspirations of mankind. Now Andrew Lang was no philosopher; and his appreciation of the facts of primitive life did not therefore take the turn of unfolding the moral or political implications. Indeed, one can imagine him jeering in a friendly way at the solemn persons to whom such considerations are dear. But he was a poet; and, as a poet, could thoroughly appreciate and express the glamour of the far past of man. Without conscious effort he could communicate to his readers a sense of the elemental quality of unsophisticated humanity's ambition for 'a place in the sun.' Clean-minded as he was, and full of boyish vivacity, he could recover something of the fresh feel of those morning hours through which the race has passed. Like his own Homer, he would, perhaps, shut his eyes to certain unseemly accompaniments of man's upward struggle, preferring to dwell on the healthy vital forces that, after all, have pulled mankind through. "The savage is an absurd fellow, but on the whole a sportsman," I have heard him remark. There is much that might be said about his constructive work which would emphasize the value of this theory or

that; but for me the soul of it consists in having helped the world to sympathize with the child of nature. It is to the eternal schoolboy in us, I believe, that anthropology must speak, if it is to be a real science, and not a farrago of dreary trivialities.

Of the critical side of Andrew Lang's work I would merely say this: Neither the anthropologist nor the folklorist strikes one as especially anxious to accord to criticism its due place and function within his science. The field is so wide, and the labourers are so few, that each investigator has become accustomed to cultivating his own corner in his own way; and is consequently inclined to resent candid comment on his operations as rank intrusion on the part of a busybody. I believe, then, that British anthropology and folklore owe a great debt to Andrew Lang for his ceaseless activity as a critic. Will those who suffered at his hands be prepared to say that he was unfair in his methods of criticism,—that he employed "eristic, not dialectic"? Such an objection, I believe, could only come from those who have no sense of humour. Andrew Lang was endowed, like Socrates himself, but unlike many who practise the Socratic *elenchus*, with an unlimited fund of fun. He "ragged" his adversary in fact, partly, but by no means wholly, for the sheer amusement of the thing. There is a theory prevalent at the universities that there must be something wrong with the man who cannot take a ragging in good part. If this principle were applied to those who engage in anthropological controversy, I wonder how many of us would be able to hold up our heads any longer. Andrew Lang would usually fling a jest at one instead of an argument. Would the argument have proved more effective? Surely not, if the main object of criticism, at any rate when it is directed towards an equal, is to arrest, to turn the thinker back upon himself; not to take him in hand and offer him instruction, which might, indeed, savour of impertinence. I can remember in my own case how I argued in *Folk-Lore* that 'pre-animistic religion' was rooted in awe, but then, unfortunately for myself, went on to refer to the Eskimo who throws dirt at the Aurora Borealis in order to drive it away. Quoth Andrew Lang in criticism:—

"It was all very well to dissemble your *awe*,  
But why did you kick me downstairs?"

Such a jeer, whether deserved or not, was at any rate quite enough to throw me back on the reconsideration of first principles ; but I am not sure that I should have drawn equal profit from a sermon. Andrew Lang at least never preached ; at least he was never a bore. If, then, fools did not suffer him gladly, as neither he them, the vast majority, I am sure, of those whom he has caused to writhe will be willing to acknowledge that his banter was bracing ; and likewise that the gay dig in the ribs came from a master-hand which was both cunning with the spear and loath to wound.

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R. R. MARETT.

Alors que j'étais étudiant à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, la traduction, par Léon Marillier, de *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions* parut : la lecture de ce livre fut une des causes déterminantes de mon changement d'études, qui se dirigeaient alors uniquement vers la linguistique et l'archéologie. Ainsi eus-je l'idée de m'inscrire au cours de Léon Marillier et de modifier radicalement la nature des documents et la direction de méthode de mes recherches. Des années passèrent avant ma première publication ethnographique ; il y était question de totémisme ; j'envoyai mon livre à Andrew Lang ; il m'écrivit ; et de cette manière s'établirent entre nous des relations épistolaires. Elles furent plutôt intermittentes que régulières, selon que l'un ou l'autre de nous s'occupait à nouveau du totémisme et de l'exogamie, des Australiens ou de la théorie des légendes et des mythes.

Comme bien d'autres, j'en étais arrivé à lire couramment cette extraordinaire écriture qui semblait tracée à l'aide de ces petits bâtonnets sculptés qui servent aux femmes d'Algérie à étendre une mince couche de kohol sous les cils et au delà des paupières. Andrew Lang dessinait des lettres et des sigles plutôt qu'il n'écrivait des mots. Certain graphologue de mes amis diagnostiqua, sur le vu d'une de ses lettres : un esprit éminemment analytique, très minutieux, trop minutieux même dans la dissociation des faits et des idées, mais porté à établir des synthèses d'un seul coup, par blocs juxtaposés suivant un plan de grandes lignes abruptes. Et je n'ai pas trouvé cette caractérisation si fausse.

Andrew Lang, dont j'ai lu aussi des poèmes, des contes, des essais, genre où il excellait et qui n'est point si facile qu'il peut paraître, intéresse aussi en tant que théoricien. Détruire, en science tout au moins, c'est construire. En détruisant les théories de l'école linguistique, Lang a étendu la méthode ethnographique aux faits jusque là sacro-saints de l'antiquité classique et orientale; dans ce sens, l'effet des ouvrages de Lang est encore incomplet, et je sais quelques mythologues du Continent à qui leur lecture ferait beaucoup de bien.

Dans la question d'Homère aussi, Lang est parti en guerre contre des opinions "autorisées"; il a réagi contre des idées reçues depuis près d'un siècle, contre des méthodes d'interprétation imposées aux jeunes comme parole d'évangile. Maintenant, le revirement commence à se faire; Gilbert Murray a donné sa haute adhésion à des tendances qu'en France M. Bréal, en Allemagne le professeur Rothe et quelques autres ont étayées à l'aide de faits diversement présentés et dont le caractère est d'être vivants. Ainsi, à la seule exégèse des textes conduite avec lenteur dans une bibliothèque bien silencieuse, on préfère maintenant l'examen des conditions vivantes des épopées; ici encore l'application de la méthode ethnographique préconisée par Andrew Lang a porté des fruits mûrissants.

Dans ses recherches sur le totémisme, Lang s'est trop laissé aller, selon moi, à ses facultés de dissociation analytique; il s'est attaché à poursuivre les tout petits détails et à ne construire qu'après de pénibles recherches, très minutieuses. Or ce procédé, ou si l'on préfère cette tendance, est très dangereux en ethnographie, parce que la documentation y change très vite, beaucoup plus vite qu'en archéologie ou qu'en biologie. Nos méthodes d'enquête ne sont pas encore assez parfaites, l'objet de l'étude, à savoir les individus et les groupements, est trop instable et trop variable pour que le détail présente à chaque fois et dans chaque cas une valeur fixe. Rien que sur le totémisme des Australiens, on se perd absolument entre les contradictions des divers informateurs: Howitt, Mathews, Gillen, Spencer, Strehlow, Mme Langloh Parker, Mme Bates, W. E. Roth. Et Andrew Lang s'est usé à vouloir tirer au clair les raisons des contradictions essentielles parmi lesquelles il se débattait. M. Frazer a été plus prudent:

il a simplement éliminé un certain nombre de documents qu'il a considérés, après réflexion, comme inutiles ou inutilisables. Je me rappelle qu'en recevant une lettre d'Andrew Lang où il me demandait où j'en étais au sujet du totémisme et de l'exogamie, je lui répondis que je ne m'en occupais plus du tout pour le moment, et que je préférerais attendre la publication de matériaux nouveaux provenant d'enquêteurs nouveaux et qui nous mettraient sans doute d'accord pour les faits, sinon pour la théorie.

Mais cette attitude expectante dépend sans doute plus du tempérament que de la raison. Andrew Lang était trop combattif pour s'y tenir longtemps. Et l'on m'a dit aussi qu'il était sportsman ; or c'est un beau terrain de sport intellectuel que celui du totémisme et de l'exogamie ; il y a là des difficultés à vaincre qui tiennent des échecs et du golf, de la pêche à la ligne et du bridge. J'ignore à quels sports il donnait la préférence ; sans doute ont-ils changé avec les années ; mais vraiment le sport exogamique et totémique ne méritait pas la peine qu'il y a consacrée.

Cela tient à ce que, en considérant tous les détails australiens, on est obligé, pour les expliquer, de formuler *plusieurs* théories ; en effet *Social Origins, The Secret of the Totem* et divers essais d'Andrew Lang prouvent combien ses idées théoriques ont dû varier et flotter pour rester conformes aux découvertes successives. Enfin je suis persuadé, mais l'avenir seul pourra dire si j'ai raison ou non, que fonder une théorie générale du totémisme, de l'exogamie, et même de la religion et de la magie à leurs débuts uniquement sur les faits australiens, comme vient de le faire M. E. Durkheim en un énorme volume, c'est construire scholastiquement sur des matériaux non pas simples et primitifs, mais très complexes parce que très évolués. On aura beau dire que ces Australiens sont *relativement* primitifs ; à mon sens ils le sont *relativement* moins que des Papous du centre de la Nouvelle-Guinée, que certaines tribus montagnardes du centre de l'Inde ou du Tibet. Mais je ne vais pas discuter ici des questions auxquelles toute l'étude des religions et des civilisations primitives est subordonnée en ce moment, bien à tort et depuis trop d'années.

Aussi dans l'œuvre d'Andrew Lang ce seront, je crois, ses livres et articles sur le totémisme australien, mais non certaines

de ses discussions sur la théorie du totémisme en général, qui acquerront le plus vite une valeur uniquement historique. Il en reste encore assez d'autres qui conserveront une portée durable, assez au point qu'on s'étonne qu'en une vie en somme courte, un même homme ait pu accumuler tant de faits sans doute, mais aussi exprimer tant de sentiments, d'images, et d'idées et sous autant de formes, depuis la vraie sécheresse scientifique, jusqu'à la polémique la plus vive et jusqu'à la poésie la plus pure.

A. VAN GENNEP.

The death of Andrew Lang removes one who has played a great part in the recent history of Anthropology and Folklore. No one has done more than he to stimulate general interest in these subjects. His receptiveness for new ideas and his wonderful power of expounding them in a style which was all his own would have been sufficient to give him a prominent place in our science, even if he had done nothing else. We shall all miss his graphic and humorous descriptions of savage and barbarous customs, descriptions in which his insight often laid bare aspects of the subject which were not immediately obvious.

Andrew Lang did much more, however, than merely describe and popularise the work of others; he rendered great services in the regions of constructive thought and of criticism. One of his accomplishments is now so far in the past that we are able to estimate its value with some confidence. He was one of the first to recognise the wrong direction which was being given to the study of human culture by the too exclusive use of philology as a key to its mysteries. At the same time he did much to direct students into the path which since then has been so widely followed, a path illuminated by the central conception of the growth of human institutions out of a fundamental similarity of the human mind throughout the world. How far the path on which Andrew Lang thus did so much to set our footsteps in *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* will lead us to our goal it is too early to say, but there can be little doubt that it lies more nearly in the right direction than that which was being followed by the philological school.

It is too soon to estimate Andrew Lang's later constructive work. His scheme of social origins, which is his most important contribution, takes us so far back into the unknown and is so largely speculative that it must be long before it can be told how nearly it approaches the truth. Another of his constructive works arose out of his interest in a subject which stands in a very close relation to Folklore and Comparative Religion, though Andrew Lang has been one of the few to recognise it. His *Making of Religion* is an attempt to show the importance of thought-transference, crystal-gazing, and other similar phenomena as factors in the growth of religion. Here, again, the scantiness of satisfactory evidence about such subjects at rude stages of culture makes it impossible to appraise the value of this work, but it is clear that Andrew Lang was here a pioneer in a line of research from which much is to be hoped.

It may not be out of place to point out how much the great change which has taken place in recent years in the general attitude towards the subjects usually known as "psychical research" is due to Andrew Lang. It is largely through his influence that the time when this region was considered unworthy of exploration by serious students is now past. The combination of earnestness and humorous scepticism with which he always dealt with these subjects is probably the most healthy frame of mind in which to approach a most difficult and dangerous subject.

Both in this and in his more strictly anthropological work, however, it was the critical rather than the constructive side which always stood out. In these days when criticism seems to be almost a lost art, it was always a pleasure to read his keen and humorous attacks, in which he went directly for the weak points of a position. In no part of his work was this critical faculty more useful than in the study of Australian culture, the subject which was so prominent among his later interests. He saw far more clearly than most students of this culture its difficulties and complexities, and it is to be hoped that the book on this subject which was occupying him at the time of his death is in a sufficiently advanced state for publication.

It has been a great advantage for our science to have had one with his amazing power of work always ready to stimulate interest

in it and to restrain excesses by his keen critical insight. We are great gainers by the fact that the study of rude culture took such a foremost place in the affections of one of the most gifted men of our time.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

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Ich bin froh und dankbar, dass ich an dieser Ehrung eines grossen Toten mich beteiligen kann, und ich will es thun, indem ich kurz darlege, was ich an Andrew Lang bedeutungs- und verehrungsvoll finde.

Lang's Genius war von ganz besonderer Art. Er hatte nicht den zähen angelsächsischen Geist, wie er in den Werken der Tylor, Frazer, Hartland, u.a. sich offenbart, wo eine unermüdliche Beharrlichkeit von allen Teilen der Welt her in langen Reihen umfangreicher Bände das Material zusammenstellt um eine Grundidee zu fundieren und nach allen Seiten hin zur Geltung zu bringen. Es fehlte ihm auch die breite Behaglichkeit der angelsächsischen Art, die trotz ihrer Energie sich Zeit lassen kann zu weitläufigen Exkursen, wo profunde Erudition in aller Breite sich entfaltet und dann ebenso gelassen wieder zu ihrem Hauptthema zurückkehrt. Lang war in der Erfassung seiner Ziele beweglicher und in der Verfolgung derselben straffer. So vermochte ein Gebiet allein seinen Tätigkeitsdrang nicht zu befriedigen, und auf jedem Gebiet blieb sein rascher und scharfer Blick für alles geöffnet. Wo er etwas ersah, das der Würdigung wert war, da konnte ihn auch der Umstand nicht hindern es vollauf zu würdigen, dass er früher etwa selbst lange die entgegengesetzte Ansicht verteidigt hatte.

Diese ganze Eigenart seines Genius befähigte ihn vorzüglich zu zwei Dingen.

Erstens zur Kritik und Polemik. Eben die Beweglichkeit und Subtilität seines Geistes liess ihn leicht und schnell die schwachen Stellen eines Gegners erspähen, und der geschmeidige Stil, den er sich als kongenialen Ausdruck seines Wesens geschaffen hatte, gab ihm die Möglichkeit, alles bis in die feinsten Verschlingungen hinein zur Geltung zu bringen. Mit all dem hat er zweifellos unserer Wissenschaft unschätzbare Dienste geleistet. Sein bril-



lanter Kampf mit Max Müller ist zu bekannt um daran erinnern zu müssen. Man geht aber wohl nicht fehl in der Behauptung, dass ohne ihn die anthropologische Schule für England und damit überhaupt für die gesamte wissenschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung jedenfalls nicht so bald zu Geltung gelangt wäre. Die solide aber auch etwas schwerfällige Art ihrer Vertreter hätte sich nicht so leicht durchzusetzen vermocht. Das um so mehr, weil sie mit einem Vorurteil behaftet zu sein scheinen, das nach dieser Richtung hin besonders schlimm wirken muss. "Many learned men, like Mr. Tylor, detest polemics, though, for my part, I think that discussion may be most profitable, as long as we do not let 'our angry temper rise'", so sprach sich Lang selbst einmal aus.<sup>1</sup> Dieser auffällige Mangel der anthropologischen Schule tritt am deutlichsten im Verhältnis Langs zu Frazer hervor, den er trotz vielfacher Aufforderung nicht zu einem Turnier hervorlocken konnte. Man begreift es, dass Mr. Frazer bei seinen umfangreichen Werken nicht viel Zeit zur Polemik übrig hat. Man sieht aber auch, z.B. bei den Auseinandersetzungen mit seinen Gegnern in iv. Bande seines "Totemism and Exogamy", wie schädlich ihm und der Wissenschaft seine Ungeübtheit und Schwerfälligkeit in der Kontroverse geworden ist. In der Tat, wo Polemik und Kritik fehlen, da muss entweder Stagnation oder Einseitigkeit die notwendige Folge sein, beides führt den Tod der Wissenschaft herbei. Diesen Dienst werden Lang's Werke der Wissenschaft für alle Zukunft leisten, dass sie uns vollendete Muster scharfsinniger Kritik, nobler Polemik bieten.

Die andre Aufgabe, zu der ihn die Eigenart seines Genius besonders befähigte, hat Andrew Lang selbst bezeichnet, als er die Gifford-Lectures zu seinem Werke "The Making of Religion" seiner heimatlichen Universität St. Andrews überreichte: "I wish they were more worthy of an Alma Mater which fostered in the past the leaders of forlorn hopes that were destined to triumph, and the friends of lost causes who fought bravely against fate". In der Tat zogen die Offenheit seines Geistes und die Tapferkeit seines Gesinnung ihn ganz besonders dazu hin, die Anwaltschaft solcher "forlorn hopes" und "lost causes" zu übernehmen. Er tat das auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte, er

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., p. 519.

hat es auf dem Gebiete der Ethnologie durch sein Werk "The Making of Religion" gethan. Hat er auch damit unserer Wissenschaft einen Dienst geleistet? Zweifellos. Die Wissenschaft leidet immer dann Schaden, wenn sie, durch eine übermächtige Zeitströmung fortgerissen, zu schnell etwas als "verloren" betrachtet und vor da an es nicht mehr gebührend würdigt. Das war hier nach dem Zeugnis bedeutender Gelehrter, z.B. Mr. Hartland's, geschehen.

Das Jahr 1859 wird für immer in der Geschichte der Wissenschaft vom Menschen eines der bedeutsamsten bleiben. Es brachte die Anerkennung der prähistorischen Forschungen Boucher de Perthes durch Sir Charles Lyell und die Veröffentlichung dreier bedeutsamer Werke: Charles Darwin's "On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection", Theodor Waitz's "Anthropologie der Naturvölker", und Adolf Bastian's Erstlingswerk "Der Mensch in der Geschichte". In diesen vier Ereignissen brachen die Quellen einer machtvoller Strömung hervor, die in immer steigender Masse mit übermächtiger Gewalt alles mit sich fortriss. Das war der Gedanke einer absoluten und universalen aufsteigenden Entwicklung. Er trat zuerst auf in der Gestalt einer bescheidenen Hypothese, wuchs heran zu einer geachteten Theorie und wuchs sich endlich aus zu einem intoleranten Dogma, das seine uneingeschränkte Anerkennung beinahe mit der Selbstverständlichkeit eines Axioms forderte. Bei manchen ging die Entwicklung noch einen Schritt weiter: es bildete sich eine Art evolutionistischer Mentalität, die kaum mehr imstande ist anders als evolutionistisch zu denken, die gar nicht begreifen kann, wie andere noch anders denken können, und die infolgedessen, wenn sie auf solche "Ketzer" stösst, mehr oder weniger geneigt ist, deren wissenschaftliche Arbeiten auf blosser vorgefasster Meinung zurückzuführen, besonders wenn diese Verwegenen zufällig auch noch in ihrer Religion oder in ihrem Stand als Vertreter einer andern Weltanschauung erscheinen.

Und doch wird die Zahl solcher "Abtrünniger" immer grösser. Auf dem Gebiete der eigentlichen Naturwissenschaften, wo die schärfere Bestimmtheit des Gegenstandes auch dem spekulierenden Geist eine stärkere Nötigung zur Besonnenheit auferlegt, ist man schon rüstig am Werk, den Evolutionsgedanken nicht

mehr alles überfluten zu lassen, sondern ihn in das richtige Bett zu lenken, damit er so wahrhaft befruchtend und fördernd wirken könne. Die Geisteswissenschaften, mit der ungleich flüchtigeren und schwankenderen Natur ihres Gegenstandes, brauchen zu einer solchen Umkehr naturgemäss mehr Zeit. Aber eingeleitet ist sie auch hier schon. Und sie wird hier noch weiter gehen als bei den Naturwissenschaften; denn der Natur des menschlichen Geistes mit seiner Freiheit in allen Individuen und seiner Genialität in den höchsten Individuen hat der absolute Evolutionismus noch mehr Gewalt angetan als der Natur der materiellen Dinge.

Andrew Lang hatte sich seinen freien Blick auch gegenüber der Übermacht des Evolutionismus bewahrt. Zwar hat er, in einer Zeit, wo die ethnologischen Tatsachen erst zuzuströmen begannen, insbesondere dem *psychologischen* Evolutionismus seinen Tribut gezahlt. Aber er liess sich den Sinn für wirkliche Tatsachen durch keine noch so glänzende Theorie trüben. Gerade deshalb war er auch imstande, die Unstimmigkeiten dieser Theorien bezüglich der "Höchsten Wesen" der Naturvölker zu gewahren, an denen andere achtlos vorübergegangen waren. "Antecedently improbable it may be, but there it is," das war der klassische Ausdruck seines Wirklichkeitssinnes, den er einmal in einer Diskussion mit Mr. Hartland gebrauchte.

Der Zustand, in dem sich die Ethnologie gegenwärtig befindet, ist schon ein Übergangszustand, und er mag für beide Teile sein Unangenehmes haben, für die "Alten" wie für die "Jungen", vorläufig allerdings mehr noch für die Letzteren. Aber auch dieser Zustand wird seinen Nutzen haben für die Erforschung der wissenschaftlichen Wahrheit, wenn die Vertreter beider Richtungen, mit welcher Energie sie auch für ihre Anschauungen eintreten mögen, von einander achtungsvoll überzeugt sein können, dass jeder nichts anderes erstrebt, als die Wahrheit, wie er sie nun einmal versteht, bei sich und anderen zu immer klarerer Geltung zu bringen. Dann wird nämlich auch um so mehr die Geneigtheit vorhanden sein, die Kritik, die man von einem Vertreter der andern Richtung erfährt, voll zu würdigen und daraufhin etwaige Fehler zu verbessern.

Und dann ergibt sich für die Wissenschaft ein grosser Nutzen.

Wie die menschliche Psyche nun einmal ist, wird niemand es ändern können, dass man die Fehler anderer und besonders die Fehler seiner Gegner schneller und besser erfasst, als die eigenen oder die eines Freundes. Man kann deshalb fast sagen, dass die wissenschaftliche Richtung, die keine Gegner mehr hat, sich in grosser Gefahr befindet, und wer ein aufrichtiges wissenschaftliches Streben hat, wird deshalb über das Bestehen einer Gegnerschaft direkt froh sein. Ich selbst muss bekennen, dass ich, einen Fall ausgenommen, stets aus der Kritik meiner Gegner mehr Nutzen gezogen habe als aus der meiner Freunde. Ich fürchte, dass hier auch Andrew Lang dem allgemeinen menschlichen Schicksal nicht entgangen ist, und dass sein Wohlwollen gegen mich der Kritik, die er an meiner "*Origine de l'Idée de Dieu*" übte, viel von ihrer Eindringlichkeit und damit natürlich auch von ihrer Nützlichkeit genommen hat.

Dagegen war Andrew Lang stets ein schönes Vorbild in seiner unentwegten Loyalität auch gegen seine Gegner; die Art und Weise, wie er seine Kontroverse mit Howitt über den Gang der Entwicklung der australischen Soziologie führte, ist eines von den vielen Beispielen dafür. Und hier, glaube ich, ist ihm englische Art und Sitte zu Hülfe gekommen. "I doubt if he has ever played a fair game in cricket or football," schrieb er mir einmal über jemand, bei dem es ihm schwer wurde, einen allseitig guten Willen anzunehmen. Er selbst hielt stets darauf "to play a fair game".

So steht Andrew Lang vor uns, als einer, der drei ethnologische Perioden, die philologische, die anthropologische und die kulturhistorische, erlebt hat. Allen mit der feinfühlgigen Sensibilität wie mit der natürlichen Loyalität seines Wesens sich hingebend, aber doch von keiner sich blind beherrschen lassend, konnte er deshalb ein Pfadfinder für andere sein, wenn er selbst auch nicht in das gelobte Land der vollen Wahrheit eingehen konnte. Aber er strebte der Wahrheit nach, und wo er sie gefunden zu haben glaubte, da war er ihr ein wackerer Ritter Bayard sans peur et sans reproche.

P. W. SCHMIDT.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### LAST WORDS ON TOTEMISM, MARRIAGE, AND RELIGION.

(Vol. xxiii., pp. 103-11.)

[The following notes, intended for *Folk-Lore*, were found amongst Mr. Lang's papers after his sudden death, and are published here by kind permission of Mrs. Lang.—ED.]

It is not possible for me here fully to discuss Lord Avebury's paper in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii., 1. Space is insufficient, and no reader could follow the question unless he carefully compared with my text Lord Avebury's recent book and my remarks on it in *Folk-Lore*, xxii., pp. 402-25. . . .

For the last three years I have written and re-written, again and again, a work on Totemism and Exogamy; but for various reasons,—partly the influx of new facts and new theories, partly weariness of controversy,—I do not expect to publish the volume. There is another reason: for such a book there is no public! But the chapter on my theory of totemic exogamy may perhaps be detachable; if so, *Folk-Lore* may give it hospitality? Already Lord Avebury and I are much of the same opinion; we do not, it seems, believe in exogamy as a legislative institution.

Religion is a larger topic still. I agree with Mr. Howitt, in his book of 1904, that Baiame, and the other All Fathers, and the notions about them were devised for themselves by the natives, independently of missionary teaching.<sup>1</sup> As to worship, Mr. Howitt found, not *that*, but the germs of it, in invocations of Daramulun, and dances round his effigy. If we found Attic maidens dancing round the effigy of Artemis, and invoking her by name, would we deny "worship" to the girls? I would not;

<sup>1</sup>[*The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 504-6.]

apparently Mr. Howitt did; it is clearly a question of definition. Otherwise I agree with Mr. Howitt, who spoke from his own observation. . . .

As I said long ago, I agree with Lord Avebury and St. Paul, that "the mere idea of" a maker of the world "is a matter of history, or, say, of science,"—(I vastly prefer to say "of science," the occurrence of the fact being pre-historic). "It does not in itself constitute a religion." Emphatically it does not, but as to how it may lead on to a religion I expressed my poor opinion in pp. ix.-x. of the Preface to the second edition of *The Making of Religion* in 1900. *Les esprits se rencontrent*, or, in English, "wits jump." Lord Avebury and I are often really in agreement, or only separated by a definition, a purely subjective affair. I am not, indeed, quite certain as to how he defines "religion," but, if his definition includes prayer and sacrifice, and worship beyond hymns and invocations, we are at one. No religion with prayer, sacrifice, and worship more extensive than hymns and invocations (and obedience, if that be a form of worship), is known to me among savages who have no pottery and no domesticated animals except dogs.

This is the advantage of discussion,—controversy is not the word,—with Lord Avebury, our *doyen*, for, as he was in the field in 1866, he is even senior to "my father Parmenides," Sir E. B. Tylor. It was he who, in discussing the probable origins of Animism, first referred (as far as I am aware) to such faculties as the Second Sight and "coincidental hallucinations" and "pre-cognitions," without discussing the evidence for them or their actuality: these were no part of his inquiry. Herr Adolf Bastian, in 1890, followed in a rather meagre treatise *Ueber psychische Beobachtungen bei Naturvölkern*. Following such illustrious leaders, I compared savage *psychische Beobachtungen* with those recorded and investigated by the Society for Psychical Research. Nobody thanked me. Psychical Research "had no use for" savages, who could not be cross-examined at 20 Hanover Square, or by emissaries from that scientific centre. Anthropologists (I can only guess why) "had no use for" study of real or alleged human faculties of the kind called "psychic." Lord Avebury does not object to our investigation "of human faculties," but he

does not aid us in the investigation,—except (and that undesignedly) by his researches in the psychology of ants. He merely does not believe that our studies “are likely to throw any light upon the great mystery of existence.” After all that is only his private opinion, a pious opinion, perhaps, but purely personal. I do not expect to throw much “light on the great mystery of existence,” but I do think that human faculties are not beneath the notice of the science of man, and of human nature. “She is a rum one, Nature,” said the contemplative teacher, Mr. Squeers ; and Hamlet made a well-known remark, of similar tendency, to Horatio. Lord Avebury thinks that we “have better grounds of hope” than anything in our line of psychical research. But Dr. Johnson “asked for more,” and to more I have no objection. As Lord Avebury “does not regret” our attention to an obscure but decidedly lively field of human nature, I can cultivate it with “a conscience like the sea at rest.” As to “better methods of investigation,” if Lord Avebury has any kind of psychical story to tell, he will find that our methods of investigation are, to put it mildly, extremely harassing to the percipient.

A. LANG.

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## REVIEWS.

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LES FONCTIONS MENTALES DANS LES SOCIÉTÉS INFÉRIEURES.  
Par L. LÉVY-BRUHL. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1910. 8vo,  
pp. 461.

M. EMILE DURKHEIM and his associates in the publication of *L'Année Sociologique* have made many invaluable contributions to the science of Social Anthropology. All the studies of this French school have been written from what may be called the "socio-centric" view-point. The distinguishing feature of their method of investigation is the tendency to attribute the origins of social institutions to the social group as a physical and psychical entity reacting in a more or less automatic manner to the influence of environment. The part played by the individual in the early stages of social evolution is held to be negligible, and is accordingly ignored.

M. Lévy-Bruhl in the present work has attempted to formulate the laws of a primitive psychology entirely *sui generis* and conforming to the socio-centric bias. Recently Mr. Wm. M'Dougall, in his *Introduction to Social Psychology*, analyzed the individual psychical processes which are of predominant importance socially. But this work was not strictly speaking a "social psychology" in the sense that M. Lévy-Bruhl's book may be so called, inasmuch as the former took the individual mind as the subject of analysis, while the latter deals with the social mind alone. Moreover, Mr. M'Dougall did not limit his treatment to savages and lower types of society, but, having made his observations both upon civilized and uncivilized subjects, deduced principles of general application. This exemplifies the characteristic difference between the French and English schools of anthropologists. The French



school bases its investigations upon the theoretically primitive group, and denies that its mental processes may be deduced or its institutions explained by the consideration of the individual mentality. On the other hand, the English school adheres to the theory of a close analogy between the mental processes of primitive man and civilized man, the influence of individual mind and personality in the formation of social institutions, and the legitimacy of reconstructing primitive mental processes in the light of our own mental life. M. Lévy-Bruhl attacks the English school on this score at the outset of his work. He states that the mental processes of peoples of lower cultures, their institutions, and in fact almost all things in their lives, are of a social rather than an individual character,—“*représentations collectives*,”—and as such must obey the laws of a psychology founded upon the collective rather than the individual consciousness.

Animism is the particular object of M. Lévy-Bruhl's onslaught, since it involves the axiomatic assumption of one mental mechanism common to man at whatever stage of culture. He accuses British anthropologists of making animism a sort of residuary legatee for the reception of all rites and beliefs not obviously connected elsewhere. It is unfortunately true that in some instances the comparative method has been utilized in this country with more of zeal than caution. But in all the body of facts brought together in this book there is nothing which successfully controverts a rational application of the animistic hypothesis. The author seems to think that in proving the existence of belief in a plurality of souls amongst savages he has confuted the entire Tylorian theory. M. Lévy-Bruhl's real reason for denying animism seems to be that it does not fit in with his scheme of a generic difference between the mental workings of the savage and the civilized man.

If it be assumed that primitive man's mental processes are entirely different from ours, how is it possible for us to learn each other's language, to understand each other by utilizing the mechanism of generically different mental processes to express our mutually unintelligible modes of reasoning? The possibility of translating from a savage to a civilized language and *vice versa* would seem to indicate a fundamental similarity of mental workings in man of whatever culture or race.

Again, if the mental processes of primitive man differ in kind from ours, some demonstration of a corresponding anatomical or physiological difference might reasonably be expected. But, while the brain of a Veddah may be less elaborately convoluted than that of a European, anatomists have been unable to find any structural difference which might lead them to expect the one to be "prelogical" and the other logical, the one to possess a mentality impervious to the "law of contradiction" and the other to renounce belief in Epicureanism if it thunders out of a clear sky. Physiological differences alleged to exist between savage and civilized men have been demonstrated to be practically negligible.

But let us consider M. Lévy-Bruhl's findings. The "representations collectives" of primitive man differ from our ideas and concepts in that the former are not "logical" but "mystic,"—a term meaning in this connection "related to the belief in forces, influences, and actions imperceptible to the senses but nevertheless real" (p. 38). "*Les primitifs voient avec les mêmes yeux que nous ; ils ne perçoivent pas avec le même esprit. On pourrait dire que leurs perceptions sont constituées par un noyau entouré d'une couche plus ou moins épaisse de représentations d'origine sociale.*" In other words, a primitive concept is a complex of what often seem to us to be wholly unrelated elements. The mystic character is especially exemplified in the case of names, images, shadows, dreams, etc. M. Lévy-Bruhl cites the persistence of savage belief in fetishes and charms in spite of demonstrations of their inefficacy as proof of "impermeability to experience." But the "will to believe" has often risen superior to contravening facts in societies of by no means primitive mentality.

The collective mental processes of primitive societies are regulated by what M. Lévy-Bruhl calls the "law of participation." By this he seems to mean a mystic connection between objects or beings logically unrelated. The Bororos of Brazil, for instance, declare themselves to be parrots. This substitution of mystic relationships for the natural relationships of causality leads the author to characterize primitive mentality as "prelogical." This means that it is indifferent to the "law of contradiction" and obeys the "law of participation." M. Lévy-Bruhl does not go so far as to deny all knowledge of the principles of cause and effect to the savage.

He admits that the individual savage often uses the same process of reasoning under a given set of circumstances that any one of us would use. But the "*représentations collectives*" are governed by entirely different laws, and contain "emotional elements and definitely felt mystic relationships."

The larger portion of the book treats of the relation of "prelogical" mentality to language, to enumeration, the connection of the law of participation with hunting, fishing, war, totemism, etc. All of the familiar matter of social anthropology is reinterpreted in the light of this view. What this all amounts to is that savage peoples seem to make habitual use of certain illogical conceptions and associations in their everyday life, and that they have a dominating feeling of close relationship with their environment,—a "*mystic symbiosis*." This psychic solidarity is the natural concomitant of primitive communism.

The chapter in which M. Lévy-Bruhl explains the transition from "prelogical" mentality to the higher forms is interesting. In the primitive social group, where mental processes are pre-vaillingly collective and the feeling of unity with the environment is absolute, as in certain totemic tribes of Central Australia, the normal state is one of implicit "*participation*." But with the development of society comes the differentiation of the individual consciousness, which lessens the feeling of symbiosis and demands its renewal in explicit representation. Hence ritual. Myth is the mystic verbal environment of one of those "*représentations collectives*." The content of the myth is originally meaningless. It is the emotional value of the associations which the words recall that is of primary importance. Later, when the particular words and phrases become disassociated from their proper mystic relationships, the aetiological myth comes into being. This smacks of Max Müller.

M. Lévy-Bruhl has not convinced me that "*représentations collectives*" are subject to laws of psychology entirely peculiar to themselves. Even admitting the nebulous "*law of participation*," the mystic feeling of communion so dominant in primitive societies, there seems to be no need to construct an entirely new and separate psychology. This "*participation*" is merely a specialized group of associations grown up under the fostering influence of

social tradition. These associations often prevent application of the principles of causality. But belief is not always amenable to logic in civilized society.

M. Lévy-Bruhl's work is most valuable in that it directs attention to the importance of collective mental processes as dynamic factors in the formation of the beliefs and institutions of primitive society. But the author ought not to have disregarded the influence of the individual, which is already very prominent amongst the lowest peoples we know. The consideration of this factor would have made the work less brilliantly paradoxical but more useful.

E. A. HOOTON.

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THE FOLK-LORE OF HEREFORDSHIRE. Collected from Oral and Printed Sources. By ELLA MARY LEATHER. Intro. by EDWIN SIDNEY HARTLAND. Sidgwick & Jackson, 1912. Large 8vo, pp. xxviii + 288. Ill.

THIS is the most complete account of the folklore of any English county that has yet appeared. If it does not equal *Shropshire Folklore* in the number of its pages, it excels it in the quality of its matter, for since the publication of the former work, now nearly thirty years ago, the advance of folklore study has turned what were then thought interesting parallels and explanations into mere truisms and padding. Mrs. Leather has therefore been well advised to omit all but the very slightest tincture of commentary from her collections. She has been peculiarly successful in recovering traditional songs and music, aided by Dr. Vaughan Williams, who reduced her phonographic records to writing. But her survey of the field has throughout been singularly thorough. It covers the following subjects:—Natural Objects, Tree and Plant Superstitions, Animal Life, Supernatural Phenomena, Witchcraft, Diviners, Divination and Magic, Leechcraft, and Miscellaneous Superstitions, the Year, Festivals, and Seasons, Ceremonial Customs, Games, Sports, Pageants, and Plays, Local Customs, Folk-tales, Traditional Carols, Ballads and Songs, Place and Person Legends, Riddles, Toasts, Rhymes, Proverbs, and Gibes.

In fact, whoever wishes to find unrecorded folklore in Herefordshire henceforth, will have to examine the county under a microscope.

In a Border county such as this we naturally look for traces of racial influence, and we are not disappointed. Much of the folklore of Herefordshire resembles that of the neighbour county of Shropshire, especially of *South* Shropshire, which is contained in the ancient diocese of Hereford. We have the observance of Mothering Sunday and the custom of "heaving" (here called "hoving") at Easter,—perhaps the southern limit of this last. Evil magicians of both sexes are termed "witches," and the "wise man" of some counties is known as "a clever man" or "a conjurer." Haunted spots are spoken of as places where "there's summat to be seen," and animal ghosts are common,—though surely neither Shropshire nor any other county can parallel the apparition of "a pig going up an elm-tree backwards" which haunted the Hereford highroad near Burghill (p. 35).

But Herefordshire is far more Welsh than is Shropshire. It occupies the basin of the Wye, not of the Severn, and it abuts, not upon the half-English Montgomeryshire but upon the purely Welsh counties of Radnor and Brecon. Offa's Dyke crosses it from north-west to south-east as far as Hereford, where the Wye became the early boundary of England and Wales. (Unfortunately Mrs. Leather's map of the county does not show the course of the river. It would be worth the reader's while to put it in with a pen.) Most of the western parishes were included in the Welsh Marches throughout the Middle Ages, and were only annexed to Herefordshire by Henry VIII. A few in the south-west corner still belong to the Welsh diocese of St. David's. St. Beuno, St. Weonard, St. Clodock, and St. Dubricius are the local saints, and not St. Chad, St. Milborough, and St. Alkmund, as in Shropshire. The place-names in the western valleys are many of them purely Welsh, and the Welsh language was spoken there so lately as a century ago. In this district stories of fairies are current, and that characteristically Welsh apparition, the phantom funeral, may be heard of. The burial customs, too, here show Welsh features. Within living memory, funeral dirges were sung, the coffin was set down at

every cross-road, and was carried sunwise round the churchyard, as in Wales (p. 123). But the whole county lies within the area of the Welsh custom of hiring servants annually in May (p. 101); and, instead of a Maypole as in England, we find a young birch-tree (*bedwen*) set up or carried about on the 1st of May, as in Wales. Again, at the New Year the decorated apple or *calenig* (gift) is carried from house to house, and the "cream of the well" is drawn directly after midnight and is thought to give beauty and good fortune (pp. 90, 91).

For all this, the folklore of Herefordshire is not in the main Welsh. There are no "biddings" or "penny weddings," and though funeral dirges have been customary in some places there is no collection at the grave. We have no legends of the Welsh night-hags (*gwraig-y-rhibyn*), and water-horses (*ceffyl-dwr*), nor are the springs and pools and ruins haunted by "weird ladies" in many-coloured clothing as in Mrs. Trevelyan's delightful *Folklore and Folk-Stories of Wales*. Mrs. Leather claims the spectral black dogs which haunt several places in the north-west of the county as Welsh, but ghostly hounds are not peculiar to Celtic countries, and the Herefordshire "dog-fiends" lack the characteristic variety of colour of the *Cwm Annwn* of Wales. Nor are they described as chasing lost souls, like the *Cwm Annwn*.

Comparatively small though the county is, its folklore can boast several special features. Mrs. Leather has found corroboration of Aubrey's often-quoted account of the Sin-eater at Ross and Hereford, in the burial-custom observed along the Welsh border of drinking wine with the accompaniment of finger-biscuits, in the presence of the corpse. "You *must* drink, sir," said the old brother of the deceased to one of Mrs. Leather's informants. "It is like the Sacrament. It is to kill the sins of my sister" (p. 121). In quite another category, morris-dancing, for which Herefordshire was famous in 1609, still flourished there in living memory. Only one troop survives now, but Mrs. Leather has recovered many details of the airs and figures. The Christmas customs show marked individuality. A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1791 noted the practice of *wassailing* on the eve of Twelfth Day (Old Christmas Day), and exactly the same particulars were given to Mrs. Leather by various persons still living

who had taken part in it. It consisted of lighting twelve small fires and a large one ("to burn the old witch," says one authority) in a field of springing wheat, and assembling there to drink healths in cider. Later in the evening the party visited the cowhouse and toasted the oxen in ale. A plum-cake with a hole in it was then put on one horn of the first ox, who was made to toss it off, and omens were drawn from the way it fell (p. 93). Distinct from this, it would seem, is the custom general in the county up to forty years ago, and still surviving in parts, of lighting a bonfire in the first-sown wheatfield in the small hours of New Year's morning, in which the "bush" of hawthorn which has hung in the farmhouse kitchen during the year is consumed. A new one is cut, and is scorched in the flames. Cider is poured over it, and it is carried to the farmhouse to replace its predecessor. Blazing straw is carried over the ridges—"to drive away the old 'un," "to destroy evil spirits," "to preserve the wheat from smut," are the reasons alleged. Finally, the men stand round the fire and "*holloa old cider*;" *i.e.*, shout the words slowly in unison three times, bowing at every syllable, (making nine bows in all), after which they drink (p. 92). This custom, so far as we know, is altogether peculiar to the county. It is remarkable that two such similar rites should have been practised at dates so near together.

Other items remind us of Miss Wherry's and Miss Eyre's Monmouthshire legends. When will some one do for Monmouth and Brecon what Mrs. Leather has done so charmingly for Hereford?

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

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JOURNAL OF THE FOLK-SONG SOCIETY. No. 16 (Vol. IV., Part iii., December 1911). A Collection of one hundred and five Songs of Occupation from the Western Isles of Scotland. Compiled by Miss FRANCES TOLMIE. 19 Berners Street, W., 1911. 4to, xiv, 143-278 + ix.

THIS group of our native wild flowers is by no means a botanist's collection of dried and pressed specimens. The blossoms are as

fresh and fragrant as when Miss Tolmie culled them from the cliffs and braes whereon they grew, and they are gathered carefully into a sheltered plot by themselves, with every plant scientifically classified, and its place assigned to it among the rest of the world's songs of labour and rest.

The songs are accompanied by an "Introduction" by the Editor, "Reminiscences" by the Compiler, a "Note on the Modal System of Gaelic Tunes" by Miss A. G. Gilchrist, and many notes in the body of the work from the hand of Dr. Geo. Henderson and others.

The two principal divisions of the collection are, Songs of Rest and Recreation, and Labour Songs.

Cradle songs,—nursery songs, they may be called,—are in rich abundance, and of the best.

The Labour Songs are thoroughly representative. Rowing, reaping, fulling, grinding corn, or, indeed, any labour in which more than one took part, was accomplished while timing the movements to music and song. Thus the toil of both men and women never sank into drudgery while it kept time to music, and the active limbs were kept in graceful play. Sixty years ago these songs were chanted everywhere on the mainland, and not merely in their last sanctuary in the Isles. Glancing over the Labour Songs, one finds that the waulking songs are also used as *iorrams*. One would fain have had a few *iorrams* which are used purely and simply as rowing songs,—for it has been remarked by some one that, as compared with England, Scotland has but few sea songs. This is to a great extent true of southern Scotland, but in our Gaelic Albyn the presence of the sea enters as fully into our poetry as it does into our landscapes. However, this want is but a small one, and not to be laid stress on where all else is so full and satisfying.

That there are variants of both words and music in every district of Gaeldom is abundantly evident from the detailed and lucid notes. At the outset, four renderings of "Uamh an Oir" prove the fact. The cave in my district of Argyll, into which the piper descended, is supposed to have a passage under the sea to Morvern. The story accords with that given in the note by A. G. G., only it was a green, not a grey, dog that killed *our*



piper, and his own dog, which had fought in his defence, came out of the cave without a hair on his body, so terrible had been the encounter with the *gall-uaine*. One of the tunes resembles the one to which the song was sung in our district.

To take another example of a universally known lullaby, which is here placed among "Nurses' Songs," that of "Maolruainidh" (No. 30),—in the tune as noted by Miss Tolmie, E occurs where we have F, and the last two bars of the refrain have less resemblance to the first two than have ours. There is also a local difference in naming the wooden vessel in which the butter was kept, (verse 3), *ghoid i 'chuach* instead of *thug i'n curasan*. Then, our version ends differently, thus,—

"S ged nach tig an t-aon là thilleas i

Bheir mi mo ghlùn, is mùirn is mire dhuit."

(And though the day of her return may never come I will give thee my lap (literally *knee*), and joy and merriment).

"Mhnathan a Ghlinne So" (No. 17) and "Colann gun Cheann" (No. 32) are two other interesting examples of the varied renderings of well-known songs. It was as *Beinn Eidirinn* I heard the name of the hill pronounced, instead of *Eadarainn* as in the latter song. The tune is much the same as that of a version I heard an old Appin man sing, away in New South Wales.

Among the less known, "Laoidh Oscair" (No. 87) is the most interesting. The tune here given suggests "Mackintosh's Lament." Our Argyllshire version is very different, unlike any other tune I know.

Special thanks are due to Miss Gilchrist and Miss Broadwood for the two "Prefatory Notes" contributed by them on the various modes of the Scottish pentatonic scale. These notes are lucid and convincing, and should make the comparative study of our music more simple, and therefore more popular. Often has the elusive character of some of our musical notes perplexed me when a Gaelic tune was being taken down. A thrush's song is more easily noted. It has also been a source of wonder to me, when listening to Gaelic psalm singing, to find that, while any number of grace notes enwreathed those of the tune, whenever B came in,—in certain combinations,—it was always flattened. This habit is to a great extent explained in these notes.

Miss Broadwood's remarks regarding the harp are peculiarly interesting. When Ossian apostrophises his harp he says,—“Thig le d' thri guthan” (Come with thy three voices). Again, when a battle was imminent, he describes it as “far an trì buail bàird” (where bards strike trebly, or give triple strokes.) Does the music of the harp still survive as a living influence, keeping the chords of nature to the old key? The notes suggest this possibility.

K. W. GRANT.

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LA RELIGIONE PRIMITIVA IN SARDEGNA. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Piacenza: Società Editrice Pontremolese, 1912. 8vo, pp. xxiii + 253.

THIS book is more than a very ingenious study in the archæology of a particular region. It is at the same time a notable experiment in method. The author, who, to his official experience as Inspector of the Prehistoric Museum at Rome, adds a wide knowledge of anthropological literature, more especially as it bears on the history and science of religion, endeavours to set the religious beliefs and practices of the Proto-Sardinians, of whom somewhat fitful glimpses are afforded in tradition or by means of the interpretation of the monuments, against the background of primitive religion in general, as conceived by the most modern authorities. So far as ancient Sardinia is concerned, he disdains no clue, and is to be congratulated on the completeness of his documentation. It must be confessed, however, that, when all the literary sources have been consulted concerning *Sardus Pater*, *Iolaos*, *Norax* (whose name seems to be connected with the *nuraghi*), the *incubatio* at the tombs of heroes (presumably the *tombe dei giganti*), the cult of water as a therapeutic and magical power, together with its use in the ordeal, and so on; when likewise the megaliths, the curious figurines of bronze, showing ‘hyperanthropic’ effigies with four eyes, or else composite animals consisting of two foreparts joined back to back, and the representations of *Sardus Pater* on early Roman coins have been

considered in all their aspects; when even the modern folklore of Sardinia and other Mediterranean islands has been searched for corroborative material: the direct record appears as an unpromising affair of shreds and patches.

Yet the author is not daunted. In conformity with the most modern and approved procedure, he first turns to the adjacent anthropology for the threads wherewith to sew his patchwork together; and certainly in this region, if anywhere, local contiguity spells ethnological affinity. Not only do the somatological and archæological data point to a close connection, amounting, one might almost say, to an identity, between the Proto-Sardinians and the Libyo-Berber inhabitants of proto-historic North Africa, but the odd bits of literary evidence about religious practices and culture in general all point in the same direction; witness, for instance, what Herodotus (iv, 172) tells us about the Nasamones, with their *incubatio* at the tombs of heroes as a means to getting prophetic dreams, and their methods of taking oaths and pledges. It is a farther cry to the Western Sudan; but the author is perfectly justified in putting it forward, as a suggestion to be confirmed by further enquiry in a part of the world which, from the archæological standpoint at any rate, is but little known, that the influence of *Homo Mediterraneus* extended unbrokenly as far south as this region, possibly the fabled Atlantis of the ancients, and survives in many customs, such as, notably, the ordeal. To the eastward, again, the Cretan Zeus, even if he represents a syncretism with a sky-god from the north, may on his more genuinely Minoan side be thought of as belonging essentially to the same order of Supreme Beings as Sardus Pater.

To say 'Supreme Being,' however, is to engage all along the line either with or against those doughty fighters, Mr. Lang and Père Schmidt. Now Signor Pettazzoni is certainly not one of those,—if any such there be,—who can be accused of ignoring this powerful combination, and the success of their attack on Animism regarded as an all-sufficient account of primitive religion. Indeed, he may be said to hold the balance very fairly as between animistic and non-animistic modes of interpretation. Only, I am personally glad to note, he recognises that a triangular duel is in progress; and therefore allows the 'pre-animistic' hypothesis a

shot on its own behalf, which, as like as not, may take effect on the more exposed parts of the other non-animistic party to the dispute with the animists. I cannot, however, here attempt to do justice to the very careful and cautious arguments whereby the rival positions are brought into juxtaposition, and to no small extent, I believe, harmonized; but I would, perhaps for interested motives, call attention to the following connected theses of Signor Pettazzoni:—(1) “La mitogenesi è preanimistica; preesiste all’animismo e lo trascende” (K. 228); (2) “gli avi delle credenze australiane hanno . . . origine preanimistica, in quanto sono essenzialmente . . . figure del mito”; (3) “l’essere supremo australiane sta . . . con la categoria cui sta l’eroe deificato con gli spiriti dei morti nella religione animistica. Appunto per ciò l’essere supremo in Australia ha origini prettamente extra-animistiche, e quindi, preanimistiche” (p. 248). For the rest, I am sure that no reader of this book, whatever way he may lean in regard to these questions of ultimate theory, will derive anything but profit from a treatise conceived in so judicious and temperate a spirit.

R. R. MARETT.

LA CHANSON POPULAIRE DE L’ÎLE DE CORSE. Par AUSTIN DE CROZE. Avec conclusion de M. PAUL FONTANA. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1911. 16mo, pp. xv + 188.

THE circumstances under which this book was compiled are of special interest, and an object lesson to folklorists. A French regiment was sent from Aix in Provence to Corsica in the year 1885. Although at first apprehensive of being greatly bored, certain kindred spirits in the regiment soon found much to surprise and interest them. These included various men whose names were afterwards known in literature, notably Jules Bois, Philippe Tonelli, Cantinelli, and others, and these founded a journal which lasted five months and the contents of which consisted largely of information gathered here and there in the island about its customs, traditions, superstitions, music, and so forth.

This was the original inspiration of the present most interesting volume.

The enthusiasm of M. Croze for the island which he thus learnt to know explains the detailed and careful information which he collected during a sojourn of three years, on what, so far as folklore was concerned, seems to have been almost maiden soil.

Some literature on the subject seems to exist already, but M. Croze considers it not merely imperfect, but even misleading. The writers had sought in the wrong direction, had not lived among the shepherds and peasants who are the obvious guardians of tradition, had been discouraged by the nature and language of the songs, and thought it well not to encourage the political opinions they expressed. M. Croze, as he puts it, "made himself a Corsican of the Corsicans"; he studied their dialects, of which it appears there are seven; he mastered their music where alone it can be properly heard, in the open air. This music, of which he gives several examples, is the sort of plain-song with which all visitors to the Levant become familiar, depending on rhythm rather than on time, and, as a rule, unaccompanied. The songs include the usual varieties of cradle songs, laments, and wedding songs. Some of the most interesting are derived from the bandits, an element in the population which the author accepts seriously; indeed some of these are themselves poets, and one is quoted whose defence in court was that he was not likely to have a fair hearing because he was dreaded as a master of satire. This was as late as 1886. A curious fact is that the sojourn of Napoleon in the island seems to have left no mark upon popular literature, while Paoli is recognized as a national hero, and celebrated in epic and lyric. Another curiosity is that folklore is little to be looked for in songs of national life, of religious occasions, or referring to special seasons, but rather in songs of death and heroism. There is not much agricultural life; the country is so fertile that little care is needed, and that little must be rendered with knife and gun at hand. Even the dances have less that is characteristic than in other countries, and for the same reason. "Would it not be difficult to dance with the gun in hand, the companion from which the Corsican seldom separates himself?" (p. 115).

Nothing in the book is more interesting than what the author has to tell about the ever-present bandits and their customs. It seems that as late as 1897 a group of bandits succeeded in ousting a French society which had taken over considerable property for vineyard cultivation. The bandits disapproved of the manager, and the company was finally obliged to resign. So homogeneous a society has naturally its own customs and folklore. In 1911 a cinematograph company was so unwise as to produce a film representing the bandits in an unfavourable light, and the municipal authorities were compelled to suppress the entertainment.

A. M. SPOER.

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LE LÉGENDAIRE DU MONT SAINT-MICHEL. Par ÉTIENNE DUPONT.  
Paris: Robert Duval, 1911. Sm. 8vo, pp. xlvii + 173.

LAST summer the French Government, moved at last by the *Société des Amis du Mont St.-Michel*, ordered the removal of the end portion of the modern causeway to the Mont, so as to allow the tides once more to scour round the island and to stay the silting which threatened to surround the famous rock with a dry sandy waste and to destroy the ancient beauty of its site. Necessary repairs of the buildings are also to be made. While the State is thus tardily undertaking the preservation of the material remains of the *abbaye-forteresse*, M. Dupont, whose historical and topographical researches in this region are known to many, has assumed the equally pressing task of preserving and collecting its legendary cycle, partly from oral tradition, partly from the 300 manuscripts of the ancient Benedictine library which have escaped the ravages of Time and of the Revolution, and partly from other sources. The fifteen stories which he has thus amassed are arranged according to their assumed epochs, from the eighth century to the eighteenth, and include monkish legends and miracles, historical traditions, and folk-tales. The author confesses himself unable to decide whether the paucity in number of his tales is due to their failure to survive in popular memory and in timely records, or to mediæval reluctance to let popular fancy play about a sanctuary so venerated. However this may be, the collection is very interesting, and its price (3 fr.) is trifling.

THEMIS. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. With an Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy by Prof. GILBERT MURRAY, and a Chapter on the Origin of the Olympic Games by Mr. F. M. CORNFORD. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1912. 8vo, pp. xxxii + 559. Ill.

IT is with a feeling of bewilderment coupled with admiration that we rise from the study of this, the latest attempt to solve the problems of Greek beliefs,—the word “religion” on the title-page might, I venture to think, be abandoned until we can agree on some definition which will include all those quaint survivals which Miss Harrison has unearthed from the byways of literature and archæology. To compare, for instance, this book with Mr. Farnell’s last Hibbert Lectures, *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, is to enter a new world, to seek our way through regions as yet incompletely charted. Every page bears witness to her learning and acumen, and, even as a collection of long-forgotten facts admirably classified and provided with a long series of excellent illustrations and a good index, it will not easily be superseded. The new Cambridge school represented by the writer, with her allies Mr. F. M. Cornford and Mr. A. B. Cook, aided by Professor Gilbert Murray, in whose hands the history and literature of ancient Greece have gained new significance and interest,—whatever may be the ultimate result of their work,—has introduced a new spirit of enthusiasm and imagination, an unaffected delight in the discovery of some fresh link in the chain of evidence. But the discovery of the Minoan culture opens a field of study as yet imperfectly occupied, and, as Miss Harrison frankly admits her inability to utilize the methods of the anthropologist, the exploration of the origins of Greek beliefs has now reached a stage when it can no longer be confined to experts in the language, and must claim and will receive assistance from a wider body of investigators.

The book starts with an attempt to explain a ritual hymn recently discovered at Palaiokastros in Crete, which commemorates the birth of the infant Zeus, in which the poet addresses the god as “Kouros most great,” greatest of grown-up youths. From this

startling epithet Miss Harrison traces the origin of many of the later divine figures, on whom as "Olympians," the degenerate descendants of older and nobler personalities, she lavishes unmitigated scorn. Within the limits of a review it is impossible to trace the stages of her argument; every student of comparative religion, everyone interested in early Greece, must read, learn, and inwardly digest it for himself. To put the scheme of the book briefly, it seeks to celebrate a "sacred marriage" between the conception of *mana* as developed by Mr. Marett and that of the fertility spirit which forms the subject of Dr. Frazer's latest instalment of *The Golden Bough*. This is effected by adopting *en bloc* the sociological position of Professor Durkheim and the speculations of M. Bergson, the latest fashionable psychologist. She develops the now generally accepted view, that in analyzing culture we must begin with the social structure, into the formula that among "primitive peoples" religion reflects not individual but collective feeling and collective thinking; the early god is a "projection" or "externalization" of the *thiasos* or group of worshippers.

Another novel departure is the attempt by Professor Gilbert Murray to establish the position that the forms of the Greek drama reflect the course of death and resurrection of the "Eniautos Daimon," a rather unsatisfactory term to represent the fertility spirit, the personified luck of the year. He arrives at the conclusion that the drama had its origin in the cult of Dionysus, the "daimon, of death and resurrection, of reincarnation, of the *renouveau* of the spring, and that *renouveau*, that reincarnation, was of man as well as nature. . . . Of any connection with the tomb and obsequies of an actual dead Athenian hero there is not a particle of evidence" (p. 339).

Two criticisms at once suggest themselves in the study of this book. First, though it may be admitted that there are some traces of mother-right in Athens, the paper by Mr. H. J. Rose (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., pp. 277 *et seq.*) throws the burden of proof on those who assert that this system was universally prevalent in Greece. Secondly, in face of Dr. Frazer's conclusions that the existence of totemism in the same region has not been proved, and that "pure totemism is not in itself a religion at all," the use of this



line of evidence to reinforce the argument is, to say the least, hazardous; and the evidence here adduced in support of the existence of totemism in Greece seems to be no stronger than that collected by Dr. Frazer in 1887, and now discarded by him. It is, it may be said, arguable that the evidence from mother-right and totemism does not materially strengthen the argument, but the use of doubtful materials weakens conclusions which find their best support from other sources.

With these reservations we may accept this delightful book as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the beliefs of ancient Greece. It remains to be proved how this novel method of interpretation will stand the test when it is applied, as is inevitable, to solve like problems beyond the Hellenic area. The risk that Miss Harrison's conclusions may not be regarded as final is only the condition more or less of all pioneer work in the advancement of learning.

W. CROOKE.

LA SOCIÉTÉ MUSULMANE DU MAGHRIB. MAGIE ET RELIGION  
DANS L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. Par EDMOND DOUTTÉ. Alger :  
Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1909. 8vo, pp. vi + 617.

THE author of this important work is Professor at the École Supérieure des Lettres at Algiers, and the book itself has grown out of a course of lectures delivered by him in that capacity. The subject of this course of instruction was the application to the religious phenomena observed in North Africa of the theories elaborated during the last half-century by anthropologists, especially by the English and French schools. An introductory chapter discusses the exclusively religious character of Moslem civilization and polity, the limitations of all other knowledge than theological, and the suspicious attitude of Islam to art of almost every kind. The clash of Moslem culture with that of the different peoples subjected to its sway is sketched. Its most complete triumphs have been won over the civilizations, either primitive or degenerate, in or near the Mediterranean basin, among peoples who differ little at bottom from the Semitic races, and in climates and countries

analogous to those of its birthplace. The further it spread eastward,—to Persia, India, China, and the Malayan area,—the more it suffered deformation. In studying Moslem civilization it is essential to take a typical example of that civilization. Such an example the author finds ready to his hand in Morocco. There, once it had been conquered by Islam, a fairly stable Mohammedan civilization had been developed, in isolation from Christian and modern influences, by a people not brilliant indeed, but of average mental and physical endowments, and under a climate not too far removed from that which had given birth to the religion of the Prophet. There the type had been preserved almost unaltered for ages; perhaps without exaggeration it may be said that there of all Mohammedan countries the purest Moslem civilization had been preserved. This is not to say that under the predominant Mohammedanism there may not be discerned many traces of more ancient religious practices. A new religion,—it is a commonplace of anthropology,—never succeeds in wholly effacing the old. Islam has been more successful than most in doing so, and Islam has never been able to make a clean sweep of its predecessors, even in its own birthplace. In Morocco not a few customs exist which, though not forbidden, are looked at askance by the more pious and precise. They are left to women and children, or to the lower strata of the population. Two of the most interesting chapters in the volume before us are dedicated to the Carnival as it is practised in Morocco, and other periodical celebrations and rites which, whatever they may be, are not traceable to Mohammedanism, but are far earlier in origin. Other chapters are concerned with magicians and magical rites, incantations, talismans, divination, and sacrifice.

But the core of the work is to be found in the discussion on the relations between magic, science, and religion. The author holds with MM. Hubert and Mauss that magic is a *technique*. It springs from the emotions, the desires, and is an attempt to give effect to them. It does not, however, imply the notion of an invariable relation between cause and effect: it is not a false science. Founded in savagery, it is rooted in the savage nature. Now the savage is emotional rather than ratiocinative. He has not yet attained to the notion of the invariable relation between cause

and effect. His ideas are confused, and his practice moves in the obscure domain of the emotions. It is in its origin more or less a direct reflex of them. Nor is sympathetic magic the whole of magic. If it were, the rite, instead of being overcharged with useless details, as it so often is, would necessarily be simplified; it would reduce itself to the more or less strict imitation of the effect intended. But the contrary is the case. It becomes a thicket of practices, imagined in order to satisfy the desire and multiplying themselves tumultuously. The principal rite surrounds itself with accessory rites, precaution after precaution is taken, a mysterious fear makes itself felt; for in magic one has to do with a special force. That force is the *mana*, the *orenda*. It is the magician's will which he seeks to make a material and active reality. It may exteriorize itself, attach itself to objects, even pre-exist in them. This is the true magical power. The position is illustrated by an analysis of the essentially magical superstition of the Evil Eye,—an analysis which the want of space forbids me to reproduce.

Summing up, M. Doutté declares that magic invented under the pressure of need is only the objectivation of the desire under the form of a force extended, singular, bound to gestures representative of the phenomenon desired and mechanically reproducing it. According to his view magic preceded religion. But religion does not owe its origin to any conviction on the part of the savage that he has not the power that he thought he had. It is not due to any revulsion of feeling consequent on repeated disappointments. On the contrary, it arises from the savage exteriorizing magical power so far that he finishes by personifying it. In such a proceeding we have the genesis of a god. The god may be a personified *mana* and wear the aspect of a great magician. Thus the Creator of the universe is declared in a Malay charm-book quoted by Mr. Skeat to have been the eldest magician. In a word, so far from being opposed from the beginning to religion (or rather to theism, the belief in gods, for M. Doutté reserves the word religion for another meaning), magic is the true theoplasm. The god is necessarily anthropomorphic: he is the objectivation of man in phenomena. Theism retains many of the ideas of magic: *mana*, magical force expanded and

moving, radiates for ever around the god. It is the *baraka* of the Moslem; it transmits itself like magical force. Theism is, like magic, a construction *à priori*; like magic, it is dominated by emotion; like magic, contradictions abound in it, and theologians spend their strength in reconciling them. Like magic, too, theism has a practical aim: it is a *technique*. It is occupied, first with immediate physical needs, and secondly with moral needs. One characteristic alone distinguishes it from magic,—the personification of power essentially magical as a distinct will. As a consequence the constraining character of the rite disappears. The god, having a free will, can no longer be mechanically compelled. He must be conciliated; and thus prayer replaces the charm. The magician commanded nature; the worshipper, on the other hand, preserves towards the god to whom he prays an expectant and receptive attitude which is characteristic of theism.

But magic is a collective creation. The needs that have given birth to it are collective needs,—food, sunshine, rain, and so forth. The magician only exists because his fellow-tribesmen believe in him, because they claim and await his magical acts in a state of excitability predisposed to illusion; they communicate to him their faith, even if he otherwise would not have it. The belief in magic, the ideas of magic, are not merely the product of a state of society; they are the product of society, not of the individual; and as collective beliefs and ideas they impose themselves on the individual,—he cannot escape from them. But, when magic is diverted to individual purposes, it tends to become anti-social. The interest of some persons finds itself in conflict with the general interest; and they apply magical processes to ends injurious to the community, or to ends that may be strictly personal. Thus, side by side with the lawful and even obligatory magic which sustains the life of the society, another magic springs up harmful or at least useless to society, and as such reprobated and forbidden, or hardly tolerated. The social magic is termed by M. Douillé *religion*, the anti-social *witchcraft*. It becomes an anti-religion, and ends by modelling itself on religion, and borrowing its methods and processes.

The author examines many of the beliefs and practices of Islam with the object of showing that much of magic has been taken up

into the official religion. Mohammed recognized the Evil Eye. The reality of witchcraft is a dogma. Miracles are magic. Mohammedan doctors have exercised themselves in distinguishing between the saint's miraculous act and the sorcerer's prodigy; and they have declared that the sole difference is in the morality of the aim pursued. A miracle is legitimate witchcraft, and witchcraft is forbidden miracle. The Prophet himself recommended the employment of magical incantations: he only forbade those that have a polytheistic character. He himself employed rites in their essence magical, and uttered incantations. The ceremonies at the Kaaba, which he consecrated and perpetuated, are in effect magical. It is only witchcraft,—anti-social magic,—that is forbidden in Islam.

But, besides religion and witchcraft, there is another group of facts observable in Morocco, which are neither permitted nor forbidden, though not usually viewed with a favourable eye by orthodoxy. They belong to folklore, and include such celebrations as the Carnival and the Midsummer fires. They represent, in fact, ancient magical practices that once had a religious force, but in course of time have been disintegrated, so to say, from religion. The ideas, the myths, the beliefs connected with these practices have for the most part disappeared, and can only be reconstructed from the rites that remain. Some of them seem to coincide with festivals and solemnities, which have been taken up into Islam, but are themselves probably survivals of pre-existing pagan Arab customs.

These theories will be recognized as in general correspondence with those of the English and French schools, to which the author acknowledges his indebtedness, repeatedly citing Prof. Frazer, Mr. Marett, Messrs. Hubert and Mauss, and other anthropological and sociological investigators. The rest of the book may without unfairness be described as an application of the theories to the various practices and beliefs found in Morocco. The careful and detailed account of the phenomena it comprises is of the utmost interest to students of folklore, and will long remain an authoritative exposition of custom and superstition in a society hardly as yet disturbed by modern conditions and scientific discovery.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE SUK: THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE. By MERVYN W. H. BEECH. With Intro. by Sir Charles Eliot. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 8vo, pp. xxiv + 152. Maps and ill.

IN this volume we have to welcome a useful addition to the shelf of recent books which throw a flood of light on the tribes of East and Equatorial Africa. The Suk occupy a tract from Lake Baringo to the north-west, separated from Lake Rudolph by the Turkana, and, as Sir Charles Eliot suggests in the Introduction, are probably a mixed tribe in course of formation round a nucleus of fugitives driven into the hills by raids. The bulk of the volume is occupied by a vocabulary and grammar, but the author has fortunately added to these, in the first forty-five pages, what ethnographical material he was able to gather during a residence of little more than a year,—in which time, of course, even an investigator with no other occupation could not prepare an exhaustive account of the beliefs and organization of a people. Little information is given about the many totemic and exogamous clans (*e.g.* elephant, rain, and bull-frog), but a thorough investigation is promised at a future date. The men have an age classification, the duration of each age being, roughly, fifteen years (a generation), and all circumcised in that period are counted as of that age. Names exist for ages up to those older than 120 (when the cycle recommences), though probably none survive 75, and the last four ages are used only in tales etc. (p. 6). Women are not circumcised at regular times, and are counted as of the age of the men they marry. There is no word for chief, and the old man at the head of a village family is called *ki-ruwok-in* (adviser). The only houses are unsubstantial shelters made by the women, and hence not used by unmarried men (p. 7). To stand upright in the doorway or inside is unlucky, and will bring cattle thieves (p. 8). An ox with one horn pointing forward and one backward (*kamar*) is a necessary possession for every warrior, and cow's urine is used to purify hands and calabashes (pp. 8-9). There are sex taboos (pp. 10, 17), and before drinking honey wine libations to the spirits of the dead are poured on either side of the threshold. There is a vague and benevolent Supreme Being and creator, to whom prayers are offered, but who "has nothing

to do with men after death" (pp. 19-20). Men's spirits pass at death into snakes, and die finally with these new bodies. There is belief in the evil eye, grass has magical properties (pp. 20, 25), and pot-making is a secret trade, for women only, with its special rites and taboos. Several pages are devoted to a valuable account of the customary punishments for witchcraft and crime amongst the Suk and their immediate neighbours. The dances are distinctive, but the riddles are not very characteristic, and the dozen folk-tales given are abbreviated versions and, as Mr. Beech remarks, "not very good." The illustrations are interesting, but some are not sufficiently clear. The author has accomplished much in little time and under many difficulties, and folklorists will be grateful for his decision to publish at once his valuable results, even though he felt that his enquiries were still incomplete.

A. R. WRIGHT.

THE LAND OF UZ. By ABDULLAH MANSÛR (G. Wyman Bury).  
Macmillan, 1911. 8vo, pp. xxvii + 354. Ill.

THIS is not a volume of folklore, but a very interesting book of travel written by a man who allowed little to escape observation and who took note, among other things, of customs such as ordeal by heat, the value of iron as a protection against ghouls, how to get the better of jinns, and such like. There is nothing in itself very new in any of these things; their chief interest lies in the fact of their having been noted in a country so little known as "The Land of Uz."

The author's relation with this country grew out of the demarcation of the boundary between the Aden Hinterland and the possessions of Turkey. The country traversed proved to be, not the desert which had been expected, but "mountainous districts, containing more or less fertile valleys, and at least as well populated as were the highlands of Scotland in the middle of the 18th century" (p. ix). It is a country which has so far escaped the attention of the tourist, and which has therefore not lost its characteristic interest.

There is a great deal of information, especially about the life of

the women, which, without being directly folklore, is valuable to the folklore student. It is to be wished that the herb mentioned in the following note might be more exactly identified. It seems that, as usual among Arabs, the only plants which receive much attention are scented herbs. "Three species in particular are grown, one worn by tribesmen generally, on festive occasions, one used at weddings, and a third the *shukr shahed* (or herb of witness) to place beneath the head of a corpse as it lies on its side with its face towards Mecca in the recess of its last tement."

The author affects an easy, not to say familiar, style, but that he has a real literary power is visible in certain passages, and in some very charming verses which breathe the true spirit of the East. Indeed this is one of those very rare volumes written by one who really knows the country of which he writes, and as such especially valuable to those who are also students of oriental lands, as well as really informing and directing to those who stay at home.

HANS H. SPOER.

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MATERINSKAYA FILIACIYA V VOSTOCHNOY I CENTRALNOY AZII.  
[Mother-right in Eastern and Central Asia]. Vyp. 1. Materinskaya Filiaciya u Kitaycev, Koreycev i Yaponcev [Mother-right in China, Korea, and Japan]. Vyp. 2. Materinskaya Filiaciya u Tibetcev, Mongolov, Myaoczŷ, Lolo i Tai [Mother-right among the Tibetans, Mongols, Miaotzu, Lolos, and Tai]. By NICHOLAS MATSOKIN. Vladivostock, 1910-11. 8vo, pp. 40, iv + 147.

In these two volumes the author, a student of the Oriental Institute in Vladivostock, adduces the evidence and arguments in favour of mother-right and matriarchate among some peoples and tribes of Eastern and Central Asia. He regards them as proving that among the several peoples and tribes in question there existed matrilineal organizations, and that some of the latter had passed through a matriarchate stage. Mr. Matsokin offers evidence that totemism existed among the Tibetans, Mongols, and some tribes in China, and at the same time he brings facts in



support of his contention that totemism is originally connected with the communities reckoning descent through females. The facts and information brought forward by the author give his work interest and value, although his interpretations may not always be justifiable. For example, he implicitly cites stories of supernatural birth as in favour of descent exclusively through the mother, although the uncertainty of paternity cannot be the reason for it; and he accepts the ceremonial capture of wives as a survival from actual capture, and associates it with a community tracing descent in the female line. He gives no sufficient reason to treat inheritance from a step-mother by a son as a survival of mother-right, etc. These two volumes are "only prior communications to a more extensive work that will be devoted by the author to the problem of mother-right and matriarchate in Eastern and Central Asia." The results already achieved by the author inspire the hope that his future work may be a valuable contribution to the comparatively scanty Russian literature dealing with folklore problems.

In the earlier stages of folklore study in Russia attention was given chiefly from the literary side, and to songs, tales, proverbs, etc. Hence, being thus associated with studies of the literature of the people, folklore does not constitute in Russia an independent branch of research. The efforts to collect folklore material date from the seventeenth century, but the first synthetic and general works appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, when scientific methods of investigation were adopted by Prof. Th. Buslayev, the leader of the mythological school in Russia, who applied theories of comparative philology to explain the phenomena of Old Slavonic,<sup>1</sup> and suggested the meteorological method of interpreting myths.<sup>2</sup> In the thirties and forties of last century the endeavours of several Russian scholars who had been engaged in the work of collecting and studying the antiquities of the Russian people, were united by the foundation of the "Archeographical Commission" (1834), and the "Russian Geographical Society" (1846), who have carried on ever since very active work of research and publishing. A new impulse to the

<sup>1</sup> *Influence of Christianity on the Slavonic Language* (1848).

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Studies of the Russian Popular Literature and Art* (1861).

investigation of folklore was given on the eve of the "epoch of great reforms" of the sixties by the growth of interest among educated Russians in the life of the people. Many well-known ethnographers set about collecting material throughout the country, such as V. Dahl, V. Kiryevsky, P. Shein, P. Rybnikov, and others,—and presented us with rich and valuable collections of songs, tales, traditions, poems, proverbs, etc., and descriptions of rites, customs, arts, etc. Meanwhile many of the theories of solar mythology were discredited by new investigations based upon so-called "historical" and "borrowing" theories (L. Maikov, V. Stasov, etc.). The study of the literature of the people was extended, and attention was concentrated not only on the interpretation of myth, but on research work on beliefs, ritual, customs, traditions, etc. The problems of folklore were investigated, especially in the works of Professors A. Potebnya and Alexander Veselovsky and their disciples. This movement resulted in the establishment of several official and private institutions and societies, of which the labour produced a very extensive literature largely dealing with the folklore of the Russian people. But the study of folklore was still interwoven with that of the other allied sciences, in particular of ethnography, anthropology, and archæology, and up to the present time the science of folklore in Russia has not won its own place in the ranks of the cognate branches of learning. However, in the early sixties of last century was founded the "Moscow Society of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography," the transactions and publications of which have ever since conducted work similar to that carried on in England and Germany by societies and journals devoted exclusively to folklore. Among the present members of this Society the leading place belongs to Prof. V. Miller, who is actively engaged in research on myth and tradition. Although the scientific study of folklore is a thing of recent growth in Russia, nevertheless much has been done in this branch of learning. There is a vast mass of folklore material scattered in many archives and museums, and over a wide literature, and the efforts to collect the ancient traditions of the Russian people have never been discontinued, and even quite lately resulted in the publication of valuable editions of the epic poems (*byliny*) collected particularly in the

northern districts of Russia, such as A. Markov's *Byliny of the White Sea* (1901), N. Onchukov's *Byliny of the Pechora* (1904), and P. Grigoriev's *Byliny and Historical Songs of Archangel* (1904). The materials of folklore being abundant and scattered all over the country, there is a pressing need for classifying and docketing them in order to make them accessible to the student. The first step in this direction has already been made by the Russian Geographical Society, which has just begun to record the folklore material collected in its archives.

M. TROPHIMOFF.

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#### SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

*Baessler-Archiv.* (Beiträge zur Volkerkunde herausgegeben aus Mitteln des Baessler Institut). Band 1. Heft 1. *Über altperuanische Gewebe mit szenenhaften Darstellungen.* Von MAX SCHMIDT. Fol., pp. 64. 4 Pl. + 49 Ill.

THE series of finely illustrated monographs, edited by Dr. P. Ehrenreich, of which the first is noted above, is not by any means confined to matters of technological and museum interest. In 1910 appeared a collection of sayings and songs from the Turfan region (Central Asia) by A. v. Le Coq, and the seven sections issued in 1911 included collections of folk-tales and of children's games from German New Guinea, of the folk-tales and customs of the Waschambaa, an illustrated account of religious mendicants in S. India and one of a brahmanical representation of the universe, several descriptions from Togo of rituals, magic, puberty festivals, etc., and a conscientious article on the Bana (Kamerun); their string games, etc. The price of each volume of six sections is only 20 marks.

*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1911.* Fol., pp. 50.

HINDU legends and marvels are dispersed through the notes on Jodhpur and Kishangadh States. One curious story,—of the means by which Ravana, the enemy of Rāma, propitiated

Mahādeva,—is told to explain the name of a famous natural cave temple (pp. 37-8). Every pontiff at Salemābād must, when enthroned, have a *sālagrāma* stone, named Sarésvara, placed upon his head (p. 41). A good many valuable notes could probably be gleaned by a diligent searcher through such reports as this, and many casual remarks throw light on custom and belief.

*Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report, 1907-8.* Calcutta, 1911; pp. x + 304 + iv. Pl. *Antiquities of the Chamba State.* By J. P. H. VOGEL. Part I. *Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammadan Period.* Calcutta, 1911; pp. xii + 268 + iv. Pl.

CHAMBA is a western Himalayan State which under a single dynasty has preserved unaltered for many centuries its traditions and its customs. The splendid volume on its epigraphy issued by the Government of India, with the vigorous support of the reigning Raja, therefore of necessity contains much mythological and customary lore in the notes upon 50 ancient inscriptions, nearly all of a religious character, on rocks, slabs, images, and copper plates. The companion volume of the Report illustrates in 86 plates temples, images, excavations, and antiquities, and is a mine of information for a reader interested in India.

*The Iowa.* By WILLIAM HARVEY MINER. [Little Histories of North American Indians. No. 2]. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911. 12mo, pp. xxxv + 100. Ill. and map.

THIS account of the tribe from which one of the United States is named consists of a reprint, with full annotations and an Introduction, of a portion of a scarce publication of 1876, and contains, besides much historical and linguistic matter, some account of games (pp. xxviii-xxxi) and dances (pp. xxxii-iii). One of the Appendices gives "The Iowa Camping Circle," specifying two "phratries" and eight "gentes," each of the latter having four "subgentes." A series of such publications, at a very moderate price, will be very useful for reference and comparative study.

*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society.* Vol. IX., Parts II. and III. Henry Frowde, 1911-2. Large 8vo, pp. 139-312. Ill.

IN the first number Prof. Haroda gives, with 9 plates, one of the best and most detailed accounts yet published of the *gosekku*, i.e. the five festivals of the seasons (viz. of seven herbs, of dolls, of the iris, of the Marriage of the Stars, and of the chrysanthemum). In the second number Mr. H. F. Cheshire briefly describes the well-known game of *go*.

*The Sarawak Museum Journal.* Vol. I., No. 2. Singapore: Kelly and Walsh, 1912. 8vo, pp. iv + 123.

CONTAINS, amongst much other material, a valuable series of folklore notes from a little-known region. An account of an expedition to the Bah Country of Central Borneo describes various peace-making and oath-taking ceremonies, in which the pig is prominent. For blood-brotherhood each man smokes a cigarette containing a drop of blood from the arm of the other. "Every object has a spirit of its own," which requires to be conciliated. There is a "Superior Being" and "various semi-deities." Other notes describe a Dyak pig-hunting omen from throwing a humming-bird hawk-moth down the house stairs with a string tied to it. The Trengs have as chief deities a sky and an earth god, who have the hawk as messenger, and the former of whom rules over the dead; a folk-tale is given of the accidental discovery of the land of the dead, who are invisible except to eyes touched with their spittle; the soul reaches this land after the process of *menulang*, in which the bones are exhumed from a temporary grave, cleaned, and put into a jar; men killed on the warpath and women dead in childbirth are exempt from the necessity of *menulang*. There is also a very interesting *conspectus* of Dyak charms in the account of the 34 objects contained in two medicine chests.

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## GUY FAWKES' DAY.

BY CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

*(Read at Meeting, March 20th, 1912.)*

THE recrudescence of old customs in modern shapes, and the assumption of common forms by practices which have different origins, are matters of first-rate importance to the proper understanding and appreciation of folklore. The changing forms of a given custom, and the history of the circumstances and influences which have led to changes in any ascertained case, are therefore worth noting and recording.

The observance of the Fifth of November has an interest of its own. It shares with the Twenty-ninth of May, and with that alone, the peculiarity of being a specially English Calendar festival, referable to a known political event. But the distribution of the observance seems to be somewhat unequal, and the manner of it varies in different places. In the following notes I propose to call attention to these variations, and to suggest that some features at least of the celebration may have descended to it from an earlier festival.

To begin with London:—We are all familiar with the sight of parties of little boys carrying effigies about the streets on the fifth of November, shouting rhymes and

hoping for coppers. What eventually becomes of the effigies I know not, but on November 5th, 1910, I saw children eagerly collecting some clippings of trees and hedges from the little forecourts and gardens in Kensington. "What are you going to do with them?" I asked. "Why, burn 'em!" replied a little boy, hastily stooping to pick up another stick before his companions could get it. They were far too much engrossed for further conversation, but the sticks were not suitable for ordinary fire-lighting, unless in a much more poverty-stricken class than these children appeared to belong to, so I conclude that they were meant for bonfires, if any space for lighting them could be found.

There were, I think, more Guy Fawkes effigies than usual in London in the year 1903, a sign, too probably, of want of work among the casual labourers. One procession, which I saw from my window in Kensington about the middle of the day, deserves notice :

"The 'Guy,' an unusually large one, was mounted in a small cart drawn by a pony. It was preceded, first, by a man ringing a bell, and then by two dancers, wearing costumes resembling that of a clown and masks of the common painted kind sold in the shops at this season, who danced up the street in front of the effigy in the real old style, lifting the arms in the air alternately, in time to the motion of the feet. [They did not sing or shout.] For musicians they had a man playing on a shrill long tin whistle or pipe, and another following the cart beating a drum. A man in women's clothes walked beside the cart, occasionally cutting a clumsy caper, as well as his clinging skirts would allow. The rear of the procession was brought up by the clown, capering and curveting and shaking his money-box. It was a poor vulgar show, no doubt, but it retained in its debased state several of the principal features of the old morris-dance. There were the time-honoured figures of the Fool and the Bessy, accompanying the dancers; the drum and penny whistle represented the ancient tabor and pipe; while the bell which the Fool formerly wore hung

at his back, was now carried in the van to inform the householders of the passing of the show (very possibly the original purpose for which the bell was introduced)."<sup>1</sup>

In 1911 again I noticed a similar party, obviously composed of the "unemployed." There were only two dancers, but one of them was dressed in woman's clothes, a most persistent accompaniment of morris-dancing parties. What the fate of the effigies was I cannot say, and there was no rhyme or "ditty" used in either case, but on November 5th, 1901, I noted the following debased formula shouted by parties of boys carrying "Guys" down the same street in Kensington :—

" Please to remember  
The fifth of November  
Should never be forgot.  
Guy, Guy, Guy !  
Hit 'im in the eye !

Stick 'im up the chimney-pots, and there let 'im lie !"

In 1893 I came across Guy Fawkes in the watering-places of the south-eastern counties, where the observance of the day assumes much greater importance. At Hastings I saw placards announcing the grand procession which would pass through the town on the occasion, carrying effigies (if I remember rightly), and winding up with a bonfire, in which, as a quondam "Bonfire Boy" of Hastings afterwards told me, the effigies were burnt. The rhyme they sang he gave me as follows :—

" Remember, remember, the Fifth of November  
Gunpowder treason and plot ;  
I see no reason why Gunpowder treason  
Should ever be forgot.  
A stick and a stake  
For King George's sake !

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv., pp. 106-7. I must apologise for thus repeating myself, but this and another similar extract seem needful to the coherence of this paper.



Holla, boys ! holla, boys ! make the *town*<sup>2</sup> ring !  
 Holla, boys ! holla, boys ! God save the King !  
 Hip, hip, hooray !”

At Eastbourne, according to the same informant, the festival is postponed to the ninth of November (Lord Mayor's Day).

At Rye, in 1893, I saw placards similar to those displayed at Hastings

“announcing the intended doings of the ‘Borough Bonfire Boys,’ the route to be taken by the procession, and the place determined for the bonfire, in which the effigies would be consumed, and warning all persons against giving anything towards the funds for the bonfires if not solicited by the authorised ‘Bonfire Boys.’

“At Folkestone I saw the procession itself, on Monday [evening, November 6th]. It consisted of carts or waggons (cars they were styled), decorated, and containing *tableaux vivants* contributed by the different Friendly and other Societies in the town. Thus, the Ancient Order of Druids sent a party of Ancient Britons; the car provided by the [late] Rev. E. Husband's Working Boys' Club represented ‘Algeria,’ where Mr. Husband [was then] staying; the Mutual Benefit Society's car represented ‘Labour,’ as exemplified by a blacksmith at his forge shoeing a live pony. The Butchers' Trade Car (sent, I fear, by one firm only, not by the trade) conveyed a live bullock, with a man with a pole-axe standing by his head. The Fire Brigades also took part in the procession, and so did no less than four fife-and-drum bands. The whole was lighted by torches and Chinese lanterns, and followed a prescribed route through the town, stopping at intervals to collect money, which was given to the Victoria Hospital. . . . I learnt the following particulars [from the Secretary, Mr. C. Buzan, nursery-gardener] :—

“The 5th November was formerly kept in Folkestone with a great deal of rowdiness, squibbing in the streets, breaking windows, and mischief of all kinds, accompanying the usual carrying of effigies, and burning them in a bonfire on the outskirts of the town. Especially was this the case in the older streets, as High

<sup>2</sup> Generally *bells*.

Street and Tontine Street. But I could not learn that the fishing population took any special part, or that there was any feud between them and the landmen on that occasion. Some five or six years [before my visit] an attempt was made by the Friendly Societies of the town to remedy the disorder by organising a joint procession on the lines of the celebration at Eastbourne, which should occupy the [hooligans] by drawing them to its line of march. They retained the effigies and the bonfire, and paid their expenses and remunerated themselves by the collection made on the way. This only partially succeeded in checking disorder, and when, after November 5th, 1890 (as I understand), there was a difficulty about the accounts, this young man Buzan, and some friends, resolved to reorganise the affair on a plan which he had seen carried out by the Temperance Societies at Ashford, of which place he is a native. They got every society of working men or boys in the town to send delegates to form a Carnival Society, as they drolly call it. Every member of this society pays one penny a week through the year, which entitles him to a ticket for their annual dinner, and leaves a margin for the expenses of the procession. They also obtain subscriptions towards the expenses from the leading men of the town, so that all the money collected on the line of march is clear profit, and is handed over to the Victoria Hospital in the town. They carry no effigies, and 'strictly avoid personalities,' said Mr. Buzan; neither is there any bonfire. The result"

forms a marked contrast to the very decadent survival I witnessed in London ten years later. It

"is curiously like a mediæval [Corpus Christi] trades procession, such as lingered within memory at Shrewsbury, and, as I believe, still exists in some Midland towns. But the present form of the Folkestone custom is quite modern, though"

unconsciously to the performers it reverts to an old type.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., p. 40. The late Mr. Alfred Nutt added this note to the above:—"Substantially the same practices and the same modes of carrying them out obtain at Hampstead. I have, unfortunately, not kept my programme of the last fifth of November procession, but a good account, with illustrations, may be found in the *Daily Graphic* for November 6th [1893]." Some interesting

Any expression of popular feeling seems liable to reproduce old traditional forms.

What sort of celebration lies at the back of the modernized Folkestone custom may be seen by the example of Lewes, where Bonfire Night is a perfect saturnalia which involves shuttering or boarding up windows and the importation of a hundred constables from Brighton. Several Bonfire Societies are formed in the town, which get up independent processions with bands, fancy dresses, tar-barrels, Bengal lights, and effigies filled with fireworks. Not content with Guy Fawkes, they also represent the Pope and any notorious criminals of the year. At five o'clock they meet in Commercial Square, where a mock Archbishop leads the "Bonfire Boys' Prayers," which consist of a doggerel condemnation of Romanism and the Gunpowder Plot. Then the grand procession forms up, marches to a special tune through the streets, and breaks up again into its component parts, each of which wends its way to its own gigantic bonfire, where its own effigies are burnt. An interesting incident is that the Borough Boys throw a burning tar-barrel from the bridge into the river, which marks the boundary between the town and the Cliff, which is the local area of the Cliff Boys.

The ceremony has undergone ups and downs and modifications from time to time, of which Mr. Arthur Beckett, from whose *Spirit of the Downs* (cap. xviii.) I have taken these particulars, gives a full account. "The event," he says (p. 205), "is looked upon in the light of a local ritual," . . . and the professed horror of Romanism is only an "excuse for a license for men to lose their reason during a few short hours in the year" (p. 204). He attributes the prevalence of Bonfire festivities in the south-eastern counties to the example of Lewes.

He is probably unacquainted with the observances at details of the observance of the festival in the seventeenth century will be found in *The Treasury* for December, 1912.

\* Guildford, of which Miss Freire-Marreco sends me an account.<sup>4</sup>

Guildford was for many generations notorious for its riots: Its Fifth-of-November disturbances were special, and all who had any grievance against their fellow-townsmen united to use the occasion for acts of revenge. All the tradesmen in the High Street closed their places of business early in the day, and many of them barricaded their shop fronts and provided appliances for extinguishing fire. The rioters, generally known as the guys, assembled outside the town, and entered the High Street early in the morning. They came marching along in military fashion, many of them carrying lighted torches and bundles of chips and faggots. They were armed with formidable bludgeons, and were disguised in all kinds of grotesque costumes. "Their cry will never be forgotten by anyone who ever heard it. It was a thrilling, piercing note of peculiar intensity, and was a warning for all peaceable citizens to be on their guard." A huge bonfire was rapidly built and lighted opposite Holy Trinity Church, and upon it were piled all kinds of gates, palings, and palisades that had been broken down by the victorious rioters and taken from the houses of all to whom they owed a grudge. Sometimes even doors, carts, and household appliances were seized and burnt. Fireworks were let off; the rioters danced round the fire, and went up and down the street, insulting those they met, breaking windows, and doing other damage. It was known that many otherwise peaceable citizens took part in the riots, and more than once a disguised rioter found to his horror that some of the woodwork he was helping to destroy came from his own premises.

In 1863 the Guys came out on the Prince of Wales's wedding-day, March 10th, as well as on November 5th. That year Mr. P. W. Jacob was elected Mayor on the

<sup>4</sup> Abridged from G. C. Williamson, *Guildford in the Olden Time* (1904), pp. 184-187.

understanding that he should continue in office till the riots were put an end to. He was Mayor for four years. In 1864 a police-constable died of the wounds he received in the fray, but his assailants were not captured. In 1865 occurred the worst riot of all, in which another policeman was almost killed. Mr. Jacob armed the constables with cutlasses, swore in special constables,—some of them men who were believed to be connected with the riots,—sent for a body of Lancers, and had the streets cleared. Four men were afterwards brought to trial. This was the last serious riot. That of 1866 was quickly dispersed by cavalry, and a final attempt in 1868 was broken up by the police and special constables.<sup>5</sup>

I have also a few notes from the south-western coast:—

At Exeter (so I am told) the crowds that assembled for the annual bonfire and burning of tar-barrels in the Cathedral Close were so rowdy that the military were regularly turned out to preserve order, and one year, it is said, were forced to fire on the crowd. The celebrations have been discontinued only quite recently, and on account of the danger to the cathedral fabric from the close proximity of the burning tar-barrels.

At Teignmouth the day is considered a holiday. The shops shut early, and the people hold a regular festival, firing off rockets, burning notorious persons in effigy, etc.

At Ilfracombe I have a childish, but distinct, memory of seeing parties of boys carrying effigies on November 5th, 1859. They brought them round to the houses, sang, or rather shouted, the rhyme "Remember, remember, the Fifth of November" (as on page 411), rang at the doors, and

<sup>5</sup> The weapon used by the ringleader in 1865 is in the possession of Mr. Williamson, the authority for the above account. It is a thick staff some three feet long, thickly studded with square hobnails and projecting iron "brads," with a sharp spike at the upper end, while the lower end is roughened to give a grip. It is painted green, and is marked "V.R." in imitation of the staves of the special constables.

asked for money, as the girls did with dolls on the First of May. One party, I remember, carried, not an effigy, but a living man with his face blackened. I heard of a living man being also carried round at Bridgewater in 1910.<sup>6</sup>

There is, I think, good ground for the surmise that "Guy Fawkes" did not originate the Fifth of November celebrations, but merely took over a pre-existing custom observed at the season, and transferred it to a different date. In the first place, the date is popularly known as "Bonfire Day" or "Bonfire Night" equally with "Guy Fawkes' Day," and, further, there is not always a "Guy"! The Folkestone effigies have been dropped, as we have seen, of late years. At Bosham, near Chichester, there is reported to be a procession of "Bonfire Boys" in fancy dress winding up with a bonfire, but there is no "Guy." At Liphook, in Hampshire, the boys "let off fireworks, light a public bonfire, and for days beforehand run about in masks, but they have no Guy."<sup>7</sup> According to the same correspondent, Guy is never seen at Wakefield in Yorkshire either. Another testifies that he is unknown in Swaledale, and the same is averred of Lincolnshire by Miss Peacock in the north of the county, and by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* in the south.<sup>8</sup> Unpopular public or local characters are sometimes burnt in effigy, but there is no regular Guy, or at any rate only recently. Neither, says Miss Partridge, are Guys known at Redditch in Worcestershire. When I was making collections for *Shropshire Folklore* I was told that it was, or had been, customary at the farmhouses to have each one a bonfire on the Fifth of November, which agreed with the impression I had derived in childhood from servants and labourers when

<sup>6</sup> At Ramsgate fifty or sixty years ago "boys personated Guy Fawkes, and not lay figures as is usual in most places." J. L. André, in *Folk-Lore*, vol. v., p. 343.

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> *County Folklore*, vol. v. (Lincs.), p. 211.

I talked to them of what I had seen at Ilfracombe. I only heard of carrying or burning effigies at Ludlow, where "Bonfire Day" or "Night" was a rowdy occasion, and the "Guys" frequently represented unpopular local personages, as well as the historical Fawkes.

From the evidence so far one might have been inclined, notwithstanding the cases of Lewes and Guildford, to suggest that effigy-burning was a seafaring custom, but the inland instances of Ludlow, Bedford,<sup>9</sup> South Nottinghamshire,<sup>10</sup> Cheltenham, Minchinhampton,<sup>11</sup> and Nailsworth (Gloucestershire), and Headington, near Oxford,<sup>12</sup> in all of which places "Guys" are in evidence, forbid this idea.

In Lancashire, according to Harland and Wilkinson's *Lancashire Folklore*,<sup>13</sup> the Fifth of November is kept "*in towns* by the effigy of Guy Fawkes being paraded about the streets and burnt at night with great rejoicing, and by the discharge of fireworks. *In the country* the more common celebration is confined to huge bonfires, and the firing of pistols and fireworks." In some places the boys go about begging coal for the bonfire for some days previously. But the practice of effigy-burning or otherwise is not invariably a matter of town *versus* country, for in the villages of South Nottinghamshire it was always usual. Local religious sympathies, as Miss Peacock suggests,<sup>14</sup> no doubt had a

<sup>9</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 188.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> Miss Partridge writes:—"Both bonfires and Guys are known in this district (Minchinhampton). About four years ago a notorious offender against morality was burned in effigy on Nov. 5th at Nailsworth, two miles from here. But both bonfires and Guys are less common than twenty years ago." At Cheltenham, so Miss Moutray Read informs me, "fireworks,—squibs for the most part,—are the great feature of the anniversary, but bonfires and Guys had their share of attention, and the first four lines of the bonfire rhyme given on p. 411 were sung."

<sup>12</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 188.

<sup>13</sup> P. 252.

<sup>14</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 89. At Coventry, which was a noted Parliamentary stronghold in the seventeenth century, the Fifth of November is celebrated uproariously. For days beforehand boys with masks or blackened faces go from house to house begging for money to expend on bonfires and fireworks. (Oral information from residents, November, 1912.)

great deal to do with it. Mr. C. C. Bell, our authority for Nottinghamshire, testifies to the Protestant bigotry which prevailed among the villagers in his younger days. And the Lancashire towns were notoriously Presbyterian in the seventeenth century. In Staffordshire, on the other hand, where the observance of the day is practically confined to boys with squibs and crackers, there are little settlements of hereditary Romanists down to the present time.<sup>15</sup> Whatever be the cause of the variations, the existence of annual bonfires without effigies certainly suggests<sup>16</sup> that the bonfire is an older institution than the effigy-burning, and therefore older than 1605.

Scotland and Ireland were of course little affected by the plot against the English Parliament, and even Wales probably took it philosophically.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, we do not find the Fifth of November observed outside England. But we do find autumnal bonfires lighted at "Hallowmas," or the Eve and Days of All Saints and All Souls (Oct. 31st, Nov. 1st and 2nd). In North Wales in the early eighteenth century, according to Pennant, a great bonfire was made on Allhallows Even (Oct. 31st) in a conspicuous spot near every house; divination by white stones marked and thrown among the ashes was resorted to, and the family said their evening prayers turning round the dying fire.<sup>18</sup> If a stone were missing in the morning, he or she to whom it belonged would die during the year. In Scotland, in Perthshire, Aberdeen, and Buchan, the fires were kindled for the village

<sup>15</sup> It was in an old house on the borders of Staffordshire and Worcestershire, very familiar to me, that the conspirators took refuge after the Plot was discovered, and were finally run to earth.

<sup>16</sup> As was pointed out by a correspondent of *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 90.

<sup>17</sup> The nearest approach to a Welsh celebration of Guy Fawkes I have met with is at Newport (Mon.), which is of course politically in England. There, according to an unpublished note of our late member, Mrs. Dunnill, the boys every year roll a blazing tar-barrel down Stow Hill,—a principal thoroughfare of the town.

<sup>18</sup> (Ellis') Brand, *Popular Antiquities etc.*, vol. i., p. 389 (1848).



or parish, as well as for individual farmers' families, similar divinations were resorted to, and sometimes a burning faggot was carried round the fields.<sup>19</sup> In Ireland, owing perhaps to climatic causes, in place of bonfires, candles are distributed and burnt, and the boys think themselves privileged to loot their neighbours' cabbage-gardens.<sup>20</sup> In the Isle of Man, Hallowmas is observed by Old Style, and the bonfires there therefore coincide with Martinmas.<sup>21</sup>

To turn to other details of the Hallowmas festival:—Burns's "Hallow E'en," with its long list of love-divinations practised that night in Ayrshire, is familiar to us all. Even recently "bobbing for apples" was a favourite sport of the season in Wales, and Pennant mentions the distribution of "soul-cakes" to the poor. Aubrey tells of the dole of "soul-cakes" on the English side of the Marches, and Tusser speaks of the provision of seed-cakes for the ploughmen's Hallowmas supper. Now several of these customs,—divinations, and begging for apples, cakes, and ale for the festival,—still linger in England, but divorced from the fire-customs. It would be strange if the latter had never existed. And, in fact, a few cases of them have been recorded. Sir William Dugdale noted in 1658 that "anciently" the master of the family used to carry a bundle of lighted straw about his corn on All-hallow Even,<sup>22</sup> and a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788, noted "a custom observed in some parts of the kingdom among the Papists" of carrying blazing straw called a *Tinley* round their grounds on the Eve of All Souls.<sup>23</sup> In the same periodical, in November, 1784, it is stated that "at the village of Findern in Derbyshire the boys and girls

<sup>19</sup> *Statistical Account of Scotland*, in Brand, vol. viii., p. 388; and W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-east of Scotland*, p. 168.

<sup>20</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii., p. 438.

<sup>21</sup> A. W. Moore, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*, p. 122.

<sup>22</sup> Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 391.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

go every year in the evening of the 2nd of November (All Souls' Day) to the adjoining common, and light up a number of small fires amongst the furze growing there, and call them by the name of *Tindles*." <sup>24</sup> In the same county, Derbyshire, in the early nineteenth century, the Duffield people used to celebrate their Wake,—or rather that of Kedleston, the next parish,—which fell on the Sunday after All Saints' Day, "as the fifth is in other places, minus the Guy." On moonlight nights for some time previously the young men harnessed themselves to a cart and looted all the dead wood they could find; they collected money to buy coal, and early on the Monday morning made "a splendid fire," after which they went off with noise and "rough music" to the squirrel-hunt in Kedleston Park, as related in *Folk-Lore*. <sup>25</sup>

Besides the bonfires, there are other customs connected with Hallowmas which are now observed on Guy Fawkes' Day. The ringing of the church bells, which forms so marked and constant a feature of the Gunpowder Treason celebrations, was one of the special rites of Hallowmas, when the bells were rung all night on the Eves or Vigils of the two consecutive feasts of All Saints and All Souls. The practice was specifically forbidden as "superstitious" by both Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. <sup>26</sup> The Hallowmas "soul-cakes," which lingered in Shropshire almost within living memory, are replaced in the North of England by the Fifth of November Lancashire "parkin" or South Yorkshire "thar-cake," <sup>27</sup> an unleavened cake of oatmeal, butter, and treacle. <sup>28</sup> The annual license to rob the neighbours' cabbage-gardens on Hallow E'en in Ireland (where the

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Vol. xiv., p. 189.

<sup>26</sup> Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 394.

<sup>27</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xix., p. 337.

<sup>28</sup> At Grinton and Reeth in Swaledale gingerbread, and sticks of a kind of toffee known as "Tom Trots," are made and eaten. (Information from correspondents.) At Ramsgate muffins split and spread with treacle are provided. (*Folk-Lore*, vol. v., p. 343.)

boys burn the old stumps and fumigate others' houses with the smoke),<sup>29</sup> compares with the Oxfordshire boys' belief, often carried into practice, that they are at liberty to take forcible possession of any firewood, provided they have repeated the bonfire rhyme.<sup>30</sup> In Yorkshire and Lincolnshire it is thought that anyone may lawfully shoot all over the manor on Guy Fawkes' Day, and the belief was frequently put in practice in the early part of the nineteenth century. The licensed rowdyism of the south-country towns also agrees with this. These additional points of likeness between the old and the new festivals make the transference of the bonfires from one to the other the more probable.

Mr. John Nicholson<sup>31</sup> describes the Fifth of November as a much-observed holiday in country places in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The harvest has been finished, the stubble grazed off, the hedges trimmed; the thorns and clippings are saved up for a great bonfire, and the boys gather stores of fuel for weeks previously. On the eve of the great day the youths go round the village and strike the doors of the cottages with *babbles*, *i.e.*, leather bags each having a stone inside and a string attached to it. At 11 a.m. on the Fifth, the eldest apprentice in the village goes to the church "to put the bell in," *i.e.*, to ring a signal bell at the sound of which the apprentices leave work and the children school, and the holiday begins. "The church bells ring vigorously all day; amateurs help the regular ringers to keep them going, and much ale is consumed in the belfry. Some farmer lends a field and gives straw for the bonfire, and all bring their contributions. In the evening the fire is lighted; guns and pistols are fired, squibs and rockets let off, and

<sup>29</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii., p. 438.

<sup>30</sup> Several Oxford variants of this appear in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 176, and Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 398.

<sup>31</sup> *Folk-Lore of East Yorkshire*, p. 15.

youths run about with burning besoms dipped in tar; while the children dance and shout,

‘Gunpowder plot  
Shall never be forgot  
So long as Old England  
Stands on its spot.’”

But there is no mention of a Guy nor of a procession. In fact, but for the date and the rhyme, the whole festival might be just the same had the “plot” never been “contrived To blow up the King and the parliament alive.”

Though the day is not kept in the East Riding villages with the ceremonial usual in towns, yet you will notice that it is not relegated to the small boys only, as in most country places, but observed as a general holiday, equally with the Duffield Hallowmas Wake in Derbyshire. The reason why it thus flourishes probably lies in the fact that Yorkshire and Derbyshire are among the few counties in England where the servants’ annual hirings take place in November, when the year’s work on the land is completed, and the winter season begins. For the first of May and the first of November are still reckoned by old-fashioned people as the beginning of the two seasons, Summer and Winter, and the beginning of Winter, among Celtic and Teutonic peoples alike,<sup>32</sup> was anciently the beginning of the year. And to farming men of Peakland and the East Riding, who move from place to place at the beginning of November, Winter is in a very real sense the beginning of the year. A general holiday, rejoicing over a year’s work completed and a year’s wages earned, and a bonfire to make a clearance of the year’s accumulated rubbish, even to the old brooms with which it has been swept up, forms a very appropriate winding-up of their term of service, even apart from any more mystical associations, any “looking before and after,” any memories of the Departed, any prying into futurity,

<sup>32</sup> Sir J. Rhys, *Lectures . . . Celtic Heathendom (Hibbert Lectures)*, pp. 514, 676.

that may accompany the sports. If Guy Fawkes' Day superseded Hallow E'en, it superseded not only a festival of the Church, but an indefinitely ancient New Year celebration.

In the Island of Guernsey, Guy Fawkes was of course unknown. But in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, on New Year's Eve, the boys were wont "to dress up a grotesque figure which they called "*le vieux bout de l'an*," and after parading it through the streets by torch-light, to end by burying it on the beach in some retired spot, or to make a bonfire and burn it."<sup>33</sup> The practice fell into abeyance, but "some time in the second quarter of the nineteenth century an English family of small farmers started a Guy Fawkes celebration in the island. To the country people the name 'Guy Fawkes' meant nothing," but the resemblance to their own custom must have struck them forcibly, for they invariably called the "Guy" the "*bout de l'an*," or, as they spelt it, "budloe."<sup>34</sup>

And now I want to launch a theory. The dates chosen for annual bonfire festivities are always on the *eve* of the festival, not on the day itself. We have the Beltane fires on May Eve, the St. John's fires on Midsummer Eve, the November fires on Allhallows Eve, the Yule-log on Christmas Eve: we also have the carrying of the Clavie or burning tar-barrel round the town of Burghead (in Morayshire) on New Year's Eve, and the similar fire-festival of Uphellya Night in Shetland on the same date. I should like to suggest that fire-festivals here and elsewhere mark the end of the old year or the end of a particular season,—according to the calendar observed,—just as the lighting or giving of new fire marks the beginning of a new one. The bonfire is a destruction of the bad luck and rubbish of the past, so that it shall never return to vex the future, something as the destruction of the property of a dead man by fire or water prevents his ghost from returning to haunt the

<sup>33</sup> *Guernsey Folk-Lore*, p. 36.

<sup>34</sup> E. F. Carey in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii., p. 449.



Sincerely yours,  
H. Lang



living. For bad luck and ghosts have this in common, that they are both conceived of as something *haunting, clinging, difficult to be got rid of*. It may be remembered that, when Mr. T. W. Thompson mentioned to a gipsy woman that he proposed to visit a rival family of gipsies, she begged him to do no such thing, for he would come back and bring all their bad luck and poverty and disease in his clothes and give it to her children.<sup>35</sup> And only a few months back an Irishman told me of "the Parson's Bush near me home at Elphin, where a parson kem to a violent ind, and whin some men wint to cut it down it bled, and they had to lave it, for that was his shilter, his Purgatory, *clinging to the leaves*, for ye can have yer Purgatory anny wheer and they say the air is full of sperrits."

Just as the ghost is banished by burning its clothes, so, it strikes me, is the bad luck of the past year or season banished by burning its rubbish on the eve of a new one. It would take the wide reading, the industry, and the skill of a Dr. J. G. Frazer to work out and fully establish this idea, and I will now only mention one or two cases which seem to support it. The North Indian *Diwali* or Feast of Lamps is held on the *last* day of the moon in the month *Kartik* (October-November). On this night all the houses are cleaned, set in order, and lighted up, to receive the souls of the dead, who are expected to re-visit their homes. A woman takes a winnowing-sieve and a house-broom and beats them in every corner of the house, saying, "God abide and poverty depart!" The well-known *Holi* Festival of the Hindus has probably, says Mr. Crooke, been adopted by them from the Dravidian tribes. It occurs in early spring, at the full moon of the month *Phalgun*. On this occasion, in Nepál, a decorated wooden post is burnt in front of the palace, and represents the burning of the body of the Old Year. And among the hill-tribes of Mirzapur, the *Baiga* or village priest burns a stake, a rite which is

<sup>35</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, April, 1911, p. 270.



called *sambat jalána*, "the burning of the Old Year." From this date the New Year begins, says Mr. Crooke.<sup>36</sup>

At the meeting of the Anthropological Institute on March 5th last, Mr. N. W. Thomas showed a photograph of one of the groves in which the women in some of the tribes of Southern Nigeria throw all their old brooms and pots at the end of the Old Year. They do not burn them, but store them as it were in these groves, where they are never touched, for it would bring back all the bad luck of last year to disturb them.

To sum up:—I take it that the celebration of Guy Fawkes' Day may be considered as an ecclesiastico-political festival instituted in the early seventeenth century. It was, and is, confined to England, where it took root sporadically, more in the South than the North, more in towns than in the country, and its observance was a good deal affected by local theological leanings. It superseded the older festival of Hallowmas, taking over the bonfires, the bell-ringing, and the general liberty which characterized the older festival, and in some cases also the festival cakes. But it did not adopt the divinations, nor the charitable old custom of remembrance of the departed, which was out of harmony with the theology of the time; and Hallowmas lingered on beside it with "maimed rites" as an ecclesiastical festival and an agricultural date. The First of November and the First of May are still, in country places, the dates for beginning and leaving off fires, housing the cattle for the winter and turning them out to pasture in the summer. May and November, or Whitsuntide and Martinmas, are the times for entering into yearly or half-yearly tenancies or service contracts in many parts of England as well as in Scotland; and, most curious of all, the chief magistrate of every municipality in England still observes the ancient pre-Roman calendar, and enters on his year of office in November.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

<sup>36</sup> *Popular Religion &c. of Northern India* (2nd ed.), vol. ii., pp. 295, 319.

## MODERN RUSSIAN POPULAR SONGS.

BY M. TROPHIMOFF.

(*Read at Meeting, Nov. 20th, 1912.*)

FORMER collectors of Russian folk-songs have already laid stress on the fact that the old songs are gradually losing their character, and indeed passing into oblivion. Recent observers have frequently dwelt on the general impoverishment, and indeed on the actual decline, of the ancient poetical creative faculty, of which the products have been ousted by poetry of the modern school.

The old poetry might have been expected to survive, if anywhere, in the northern districts of Russia, thanks to their special historical and cultural conditions, yet even there the ancient folk-songs which formed the delight of our ancestors are suffering decay and threaten to disappear. This is what an observer, Mr. Istomin, wrote in the preface to *Songs of the Russian People collected in the Governments of Olonetz and Archangel in 1886*:—"Judging partly by the materials we have collected, and more particularly by my personal impressions from the intercourse with the inhabitants of the countries which we have visited, we cannot but arrive at the depressing conclusion that in modern times, in nearly all the districts visited by us, popular songs are being forgotten. The modern youth among the peasantry, even in those remote districts, begin to look coldly on the old folk-songs, and this is particularly true of the younger generation." Similar evidence is given by a traveller,

Mr. V. X., in his volume *In the North: Impressions of the Road* (1890):—"The youth of the country, when requested to sing, commonly respond by exhibiting their knowledge of the latest songs, such as you find in the collections offered for sale at the cheap bookstalls, and they can hardly be persuaded to sing the old songs." If then the remote North is thus gradually dismissing from its memory the ancient poetry, how can we expect this poetry to be preserved in Central Russia with all the distractions of its noisy and ebullient life? And indeed the evidence of the decay and disappearance of the old popular songs in the localities not far remote from the centres of culture is most complete and decisive; this evidence comes from several inquirers into the popular life, and sometimes from the people themselves, who are sadly conscious that the old poetry of Russia is dying out.

Nor is it merely in Great Russia that the weakening of the ancient poetical tradition is to be observed as manifested in the neglect of folk-songs. The poetical Little Russia, too, is forgetting her beautiful old songs, and is anxious to adopt those of more modern date. As to the growing distaste for Little Russian poetry, Prof. Sumtsov bears testimony:—"Pandura-players are a thing of the past; harpers are entirely disappearing; historical songs have passed out of memory; Christmas and New Year songs are degenerating into tedious and flabby liturgical verses; songs of springtime and weddings into improvisations on light love-themes."

In fact the ancient poetry, as civilisation develops, undergoes various transformations and corruptions decomposing its integrity, both in regard to subject-matter and to form. Under the pressure of new ideas and changes in the life of the people the themes of the songs change in details, and new poetical symbols and images replace the old.

On the other hand, besides "the general decline of popular poetry," says Professor Potebnia, "at the lower

stages of musical and poetical understanding the song is cut up and then sewn together from fragments; is, as it were, crumpled. This is the result to a large extent of the absence of a strong idea of unity in the story, and the dividing up of the song into strophes and images. Sometimes there is a unity of tune and metre which serves as the basis of association for the various parts; sometimes the song is put together simply because of the similarity in the metre of the various parts." Thus the popular song in its internal development is passing through a series of processes tending to make it less of a single intact song, and leading to its decline and disintegration.

Attached to and moving with the changing history of the people, different forms of the poetical traditions of antiquity exhibit, however, a different measure of stability and power to survive and to develop further. Far different is the fate of the Epics and of the Ceremonial Songs. The singing of the *Byliny* (sagas) was long since discontinued among the people in general, though it was and still is maintained in remote places of the country, particularly in the Northern districts of Russia, owing to their special historical conditions, while the Ceremonial Songs are maintained up to the present time, thanks to the maintenance of the ceremonies themselves, the conservatism of which has found its expression in the popular proverb,—“We established it not, nor shall we change it.” However, even in this ceremonial poetry a certain decay of the old poetical talent is manifest. As popular life has become more varied, the ceremonial poetry has indeed survived, but not in its integrity and completeness. Many of these songs are divorced from the ceremonies to which they properly belong; some are confused with others alien to them. Yet, generally speaking, the ceremonial poetry has not become completely obsolete, it has not entirely perished, and songs of spring, of Christmas-tide, of the harvest festivals, etc., still are to be found in localities where the ancient ceremonies are maintained and

celebrated. It is also interesting to notice that some old *Byliny* and historical songs are adapted in several parts of the country to ceremonies and games. In wedding songs, connected with numerous ceremonies, the ancient poetical creative faculty exhibits great force and lucidity. In collections of folk-songs the section of wedding songs is one of the richest. Up to the present time the wedding ceremonial poetry supplies in itself a deep, clear, and fresh source of highly poetical images and lucid expressions of the people's tastes, emotions, and aspirations. So mutually supporting each other, ceremonies and songs connected with them found conditions strongly favourable to their survival in the people's conservatism, which jealously guards old ritual traditions.

The assertion of the decadence of the ancient poetry in Russia, made by several observers, is particularly true in regard to the lyrical songs about the moments and events of the daily life of the people. They are more sensitive to historical changes than the ritual songs, and suffer corruptions and die out with the decline of the old social environment, with the influx of new phenomena and impressions into the national life. As to the gradual disappearance of choruses and dancing songs, it is easily explained by the introduction of new plays and dances among the Russian peasantry. Lastly, historical songs are usually dismissed from memory with those historical events which have brought them forth. The historical events of recent times have found but little expression in song, which also points to the fact that the popular poetical genius is being exhausted.

From what has been said above, the present state of the popular repertory may be marked as that of transition: some sections of the old folk-songs are in a state of gradual decadence, while others have been forgotten and died out, but a pretty large store of the old songs has still survived and continues to live along with newer songs. The latter fact is also emphasised by the people who are engaged in

collecting and studying Russian folklore. But the old poetry is more and more on the wane ; it is being superseded by the new songs which give expression to the tendencies and moods of a new time.

The radical changes which have taken place during the past fifty years in the whole order of Russian life have had a powerful influence on the decay of the ancient poetry. The emancipation of the serfs brought Russia to a new stage of economic and industrial development, gave freedom to the individuality of the peasant, and promoted the growth of industrialism. With the abolition of compulsory labour the natural economical system of ancient Russia was ruined and the factory method of production encouraged, and at the same time the flow of the country population into the towns greatly increased ; the extension of the railways brought into connection with each other new districts and new circles of the population, enabling them to interchange trade and ideas. Town and country being thus brought into closer touch with one another, new wants began to make themselves felt in the peasants' life ; an entirely new world of interests and ideas was opened to the peasantry. All this, affecting the national life, thoughts, and feelings, could not but have an influence on the poetical creative genius of the people. Already N. Nekrasov (1821-1877), when drawing a picture of reformed Russia in his poem "Who has a happy life in Russia", had observed with keen insight the birth of a new kind of poetry and pondered on the new paths along which the popular creative faculty would travel.

"O, new, new time !

Thou wilt express thyself in song :

But how?" . . .

In our days these new songs are spreading widely, and re-echo from end to end of the vast empire. They have won their way into literature, and may even be heard in the creations of musical composers.

This new tendency of the popular poetic genius is chiefly manifested in the *chastushka*. This form of popular song is especially widespread in the governments of Great Russia, although it is also known to Little Russia and White Russia. The *chastushka*, also known by many other names, is a rather short piece, sung to a gay, lively tune, and is contrasted in the popular mind with the long-drawn-out melodies of the ancient songs. The *chastushki*<sup>1</sup> are sung at the evening meetings and games of the country youth to the accompaniment of an accordion. These meetings and the accordion are sung about in a large number of the *chastushki*. The melodies of the *chastushki* are exceedingly uniform and monotonous, and cannot be compared for richness, variety, and beauty with the music of the ancient songs, in which the fulness and originality of the musical combinations arrest the attention of the hearer. The *chastushki* are sung in unison, whereas in the old chorus singing the several voices are given, and each voice enjoyed absolute freedom, so that the variations of the principal voice formed an independent melody of their own.

The music of the *chastushka* is improvised, as are also the words, and is characterised by extreme simplicity, being reduced to three or four notes of quick monotonous rhythm. At times the *chastushka* is merely spoken in the manner of "patter" on the music-hall stage, so that the connection between the tune and the text becomes very weak, and may even be entirely broken. The poverty of the music in the *chastushka* is explained, it seems to me, on the one hand by the very form of these songs, which in virtue of their brevity give no scope for complicated musical composition, and on the other by the influence of the accordion. The form of this instrument which is most extensively used by our people is one upon which only music in the open key may be played, and modulation is impossible. It is

<sup>1</sup> *Chastushki* is the plural form of the singular *chastushka*, this name being derived from the adjective *chasty*, i.e. quick.

only in the expensive and complicated accordions that the musical scale is more or less complete and exact in its tones. In those accordions accessible to the people the scale is generally narrowed and cramped. The melodies of the *chastushki* are adapted to this poor music of the accordion.

Finally, the introduction and development of machinery have not been without an influence on the music of the newest songs. In the period preceding the introduction of machinery, a knowledge of popular songs was already widely diffused amongst the people. Working in their own houses, as was the custom of those times, the craftsmen were in the habit of enlivening their dull moments by singing. It is therefore natural that the Russian North has preserved for a longer time the epic tradition. The peasants of the North by the very character of their home industry, sitting long hours at their work, feel the strong need of singing, and shorten with songs their monotonous, dragging hours. Crowded together in vast factories, modern workers no longer indulge in this relaxation. The ceaseless rumble and clatter of the machines, the intensity of the labour, depress the worker so that he has no inclination for singing, and indeed what musical impressions can he derive from this monotonous buzzing? No wonder, therefore, that in the *chastushka*, which originated in the factory centres, the music is deprived of inspiration, and shows weakness of musical creation.

We have already mentioned that the *chastushka* is a short song of from four to eight lines, and sometimes more. But the *chastushki* of more than four lines are mostly made up of two or more songs. It must be acknowledged that the original form of the *chastushka* is that of the quatrain, which is widely spread also among other nations, and especially in primitive communities.

The *chastushka* discloses to us the very process by which popular lyrics originated. The original germ of the *chastushka*,—that is the quatrain,—is, in the majority of



cases, an image derived from nature ("nature-picture"), and as a parallel to it some fact of human life, or some emotion felt by the singer corresponding to this image.

" 'Tis not a mist, 'tis not the silvery dew  
Lies o'er the land and veils each leaf,  
No! 'tis my eyes that fail to note the view,  
My eyes of grey grown dim with grief.

As with the birch-tree, though the breeze be still,  
Yet through its curling twigs a rustling goes ;  
So through my restless heart, without a cause,  
Shoot throbs of pain, though it no sorrow knows."

Symbolical parallelism is also the basis of many old folk-songs.

Comparing the form of the *chastushka* with that of the old verses, it may easily be remarked that it is distinguished from the latter by rhyme, which enters into all the *chastushki*, and by rhythm, which is founded on an artificial, literary, metrical system.

Distinguished by its metrical composition from the typical old poetical specimens, the *chastushka* has at the same time many features which show its close relation to the ancient poetry. To begin with, some *chastushki* are real products of the corruption and decay of the old songs, the fragments of which are revived in a new form approaching to that of short, literary verses. The intimate connection of the *chastushka* with the ancient poetical tradition is particularly traceable in the methods of producing poetry. The old songs became, as it were, a cradle for the newer ones. In fact, the poetical images and symbols which occur in the *chastushki*, being similar to those of the old poems, show a direct and close continuity between the modern and old productions. For example, in the old poetry the cuckoo is a symbol for a melancholy woman ; in the same sense this symbol occurs in a *chastushka* :—

“Do not cry, grey cuckoo,  
In the dark pine-wood.  
It foretells me much sorrow  
For I’m leaving my own home.”

In general the symbolic images of sorrow, love, death, etc. bring us back to the field of old poetry.

In regard to the subject-matter, the *chastushki* are as inexhaustible as the national life itself. The *chastushka* brings into its circle of observation various objects, touches different domains of popular thought and life. Thus, a railway was constructed in some distant part of the country, and the peasantry began to sing:—

“Tell us for the sake of God  
Where is the railway,—here?” etc.

The chief theme of the *chastushki* is of course the love and wooing of the young people. The heroes of the amorous *chastushka*, who are called by numerous loving names, are described at times as being engaging and charming by their beauty or other qualities; at times they are sharply and sarcastically ridiculed for their traits and faults.

“Blue eyes are treacherous,  
Those of grey are sly.  
My pretty boy has dark eyes,  
Which are most lively.”

“I have a nice sweetheart,  
Whom I’m ashamed to take with me,  
For the horses get frightened,  
And the cabbies swear.”

In selecting the object of the affections, different determining factors are brought into play, such as disposition, good looks, family connections, wealth, etc. But the mutual sympathy and inclination of the young couples are most appreciated, while the question of wealth or poverty in most cases is of such small consideration as to be of no decisive importance:—

‘ Don’t love, my dear, for wealth,  
Love only for sympathy.  
We need not have a palace,  
We may just live in a cottage.”

“ I used to say to my boy  
I am not of a rich house.  
He would say,—“ My own darling,  
I don’t care anything about the house ”.”

“ I have a lot of wealth :  
One room is full of stones,  
Another full of bricks.  
I don’t want to take up with  
A rich young man.”

Very often the girl objects to the size of her lover’s family, and in one song the young man tries to win her over by pointing out the smallness of *his* family :—

“ I’ll put on my new boots  
And I’ll go to court my girl  
To whom I would say,—  
“ Marry me, my darling,  
I have a very small family,  
Only father, mother, and a little sister ”.”

The family *régime*, as described in the old folk-songs, made itself felt particularly strongly in the question of marriage. The severe rule of the parents, who made the whole family submit to their will in all questions of family life, did not recognise the right of the children to choose freely their husbands or wives, and establish their own lot independently of the parents. The children submitted to this control as to an inevitable fate. But at present the youth in the Russian village protest against this interference in their intimate life, and are not afraid to enter into conflict with the parents, to stand out against their despotism and cruelty. In one song the son invites his father to discuss with him the question of the choice of a wife which

he has made, and in the event of the father's refusal to agree with him in his choice threatens to refuse to work :—

“Come now, father, father of mine,  
Let's sit down and talk it over :  
Arrange my marriage with the one I love,  
And, if you will not do this,  
I shall no longer do your ploughing,  
Nor help you stack the hay,  
Nor do the mowing in your meadow.”

The young girl who has been betrothed by her parents during her absence, protests emphatically against what they have done :—

“I was away paying a visit,  
And without my knowledge you betrothed me,  
When I came home I stamped my foot at mother  
Saying, what, mother, do you think you're doing,  
You are not marrying me to the one I love.”

In another song the young girl stands up for the choice of her heart in spite of the threats of the mother to beat her :—

“My mother gave me a scolding,  
And even thought of beating me,  
But I had fallen in love with him,  
It will not be as mother planned.”

Now often the parents themselves give way to the children, taking into account their choice and sympathies :—

“My mother is really gold,  
Though she is half lead,  
She will not force me to marry,  
Tells me to choose whom I will.”

Remembering her own girlhood, one mother says to her daughter :—

“Daughter, go and play till midnight,  
I was once just such a girl,  
I was once just such a girl,  
And used to play till midnight.”

Nevertheless there are many *chastushki* in which the parents

are described as roughly and cruelly treading on the right of their children to follow their own wishes in the matter of marriage. With bitter irony the young girl speaks of her parents :—

“Yes, my mother is very fond of me,  
And father is even twice as good,  
Every evening he stands at the door  
And watches over me with a club.”

Frequently it is the interference of the parents which frustrates the marriage arranged by the two young people :—

“To be sure it was not of his own accord  
That my lover went and dropped me,  
But he has a troublesome mother,  
Who does not allow him to take me.”

The hardships resulting from the organisation of the family life of the peasants are felt particularly by the women. The position of the Russian women under various conditions is described in many *chastushki*, in which one can feel the suppressed distress, the endless sorrow of the scolded and downtrodden woman.

During the lifetime of the parents, the young girl works at home, and on the farm of her father. She lives under the roof of her parents, though not always very happily, but more or less free from troubles. Her position in her own family becomes difficult and joyless in the event of the death of her parents, when she comes under the control of her brothers :—

“I certainly was born unfortunate,  
I’m not the only girl in my brother’s home,  
My brothers are collecting finery,  
But they keep it for their daughters.”

In another little song the young girl complains that “however much she works for her brothers she never earns anything for herself, and that it is quite useless for her to make any effort.” The orphan girl is often forced to go into service with strangers :—

“When I had a father living  
As other good people have,  
He wouldn’t allow me to work for others,  
Even for a thousand roubles.”

Torn away from her native village the young girl gets  
bitterly homesick :—

“All the rivers and all the lakes  
I have filled up with my tears,  
I’m sick and tired of this life  
Wandering about amongst strangers.”

When the young girl marries, her life is often spoiled by the father-in-law and mother-in-law, whose obduracy and cruelty are constantly complained of in the songs; the misery of the married woman is also one of the main topics of old poetry. The young woman is often made to suffer at the hands of all the members of her husband’s family. So it is that in one *chastushka* the married woman warns young girls against marriage :—

“Girls, don’t go and marry,  
You will find it a very hard lot,  
They will not even let you  
Walk freely about the room.”

One finds a very rich collection of satirical and humorous *chastushki* touching on very different subjects, but in these also it is the lovers that are the most frequently the butt of the satire or of the humour :—

“My pretty little Jimmy  
Has a bristly beard,  
Fetch me please the harrow,  
And give his beard a combing.”

Many songs ridicule dandiness and lavishness. It is particularly the factory worker who has come home to the village on a holiday who is made a laughing-stock of in these songs :—

"Little Mikey has an umbrella,  
But at home there is nothing to eat,  
He has a watch in his pocket,  
But he has no seed for his fields."

"All the boys of Dubkov  
Ordered some nice long overcoats ;  
They threw back the lappers of their coats  
And there their knees were bare."

"The girls of Vologda are very stylish,  
But they often sit without food for three days."

The interests and aspirations of the city workmen find expression in a great many *chastushki*, dealing with the town, the factory, the employers, and the conditions of life and work. In these factory-songs the workmen complain of the drudgery which is their lot :—

"Our boss is a regular rogue,  
He has finally used us all up,  
On work days we work hard enough,  
And on holidays we get no rest."

The workman feels quite consciously that he has no chance of bettering his condition, or of freeing himself from the yoke of his hard work :—

"There is no road open to us,  
There is no possible way to leave ;  
Our master knows this,  
And orders us just as he likes."

"When I look at my son,  
My heart is filled with sorrow,  
For the same bitter fate  
Is all that he can expect."

It is difficult to enumerate the content of the *chastushki*. Everything finds in them mention and notice,—practical philosophy, attitude towards religion, and the authorities ; the moral ideas of the people ; a chronicle of everyday life ; incidental subjects and events. The *chastushki* also touch

on questions of contemporary literature, as in the very well-known *chastushka* in which Maxim Gorky is mentioned :—

“Do not blame us, you democrats,  
Because we show our love,  
For the writer, Maxim Gorky,  
Ordered us always to love.”

The *chastushki* are very important in that they acquaint us with the life and psychology of the Russian people, as was pointed out some time ago by G. Uspensky (1870-1902). “If we collect these *chastushki*,” he says, “with the same care with which statistical material is collected about every small detail in the peasant’s home, and if we work out their references to the various sides of the people’s life which they touch, we shall have an exact representation of the manners and customs of the people.”

The *chastushki* touch on every sort of subject, but touch these subjects only in passing, and superficially, not exhaustively, describe only two or three disconnected traits, illustrating them by short comparisons, and often using metaphorical expressions. This characteristic of the *chastushka* makes it possible for everyone to express in a short song his most intimate thoughts and feelings, with all possible individual differences. The stamp of individuality is clearly seen in the *chastushka*. As a product of individual creative genius the *chastushki* appear in great numbers. They survive and spread from place to place if they have expressed emotions and aspirations common to many people, if they have succeeded in interesting the popular mind in any particular subject, but die out and are lost if they point out only a special transitory incident. The majority of the *chastushki* are composed by young girls, as they have more opportunity of coming together. Further, in almost every village there is a man who considers it, as it were, his duty to express in poetic form all noteworthy events of the village life; in connection with any burning question of the day the village expects a song from him.



The *chastushka* is colourless and dry, and often there is little sense in the subject-matter which it treats. It is short, and not musical. In the *chastushka* we see a marked sign of decline in the poetical genius of the people. As a type of song the *chastushka* can hardly develop into an original and brilliant form of folk-song, although it is difficult to judge of the future of a form of song which is only in the process of creation, and marks a break in the people's creative faculty, which in turn is connected with a growth of new forms of national life. The advance or the further development of the *chastushka* may be in the direction of bringing together separate *chastushki* into a single complete, and longer, song. Such composite *chastushki* are often sung at dances, but until now they have been scarcely anything more than mechanical combinations, and the content of these composite *chastushki* very often has no sense at all. It is more probable that the *chastushka* will come under the influence of literary poetry, to which it is so similar in form, and then the distinction between the popular poetry and the poetry of the educated classes will be wiped out. The poems and songs of our national poets have already secured a strong hold upon the masses of the people. Mr. Th. Studitsky (born in 1814) remarked that in his time "the people were fascinated by the writings of the poets, especially by the songs of Koltsov, and were forgetting the creations of their forefathers." Literary productions have already to a considerable extent got into the old popular song-books, as in the case of a Russian song-book published in 1810. In a Russian song-book published in 1859 we find as many as ten poems of Koltsov, and verses of other Russian poets. With the material which we have, it is possible to state that already in the eighteenth century artificial ballads and literary poems occupied an important place in the repertoire of the Russian peasant. The spread of literacy, and of reading, among the Russian people will help them to assimilate more consciously, more completely, and more deeply the works of their national poets. M. TROPHIMOFF.

## COLLECTANEA.

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COTSWOLD PLACE-LORE AND CUSTOMS (*continued from* p. 342).

### II. *Calendar Customs.*

The Cotswolds are specially rich in spring customs, the observance of May Day, and village Feasts,—the latter all in late summer or autumn. I have not yet come across any harvest or field customs. The modern Quarter Days (usually Old Style) were observed at such Hiring Fairs as continued until recent times, always at Michaelmas; at Tetbury and Chipping Sodbury there were also Lady Day Hirings. But from a list of Gloucestershire Fairs given in *The New and Complete English Traveller* (1794) one may gather hints of the older Quarter Days, All Saints, Candlemas, May Day, and Lammas. Eleven Fairs were held on those days, all Old Style:—

*All Saints.*—Blakeney; Cirencester; Fairford; Lydney.

*Candlemas.*—Frampton.

*May Day.*—Berkeley; Fairford; Stow-on-the-Wold; Stroud; Tewkesbury.

*Lammas.*—Thornbury.

“Holland Fair,”—*i.e.* All Hallows,—still survives, or did quite recently, at Cirencester, but not for hiring.

The other Calendar Customs, in their order of sequence, are as follows:—

*New Year's Day.*—At Minchinhampton it used to be considered lucky for the first person who came to the house on New Year's Day to be dark haired. Either sex was equally lucky.

*Valentine's Day.*—At Minchinhampton the first person of the opposite sex that you saw on this day was your Valentine.

*Shrove Tuesday*.—The pancake bell is still rung at Dursley. The "oldest inhabitant" says that they sometimes rang two bells, which were supposed to say "Pan on! Pan on!"

*Ash Wednesday* (?)—Several old persons in Minchinhampton say that in their youth they used to eat peas-pudding on a certain week-day in Lent; they think it was Ash Wednesday.<sup>12</sup>

*Mid-Lent Sunday*.—In the Stroud and Minchinhampton districts, servant girls still expect to go home for "Mothering Sunday"; they generally take a cake with them. Cakes are sold in the Stroud shops for the purpose; so, too, in Bristol. At Randwick, married children go home to visit their parents. Round Haresfield, veal is eaten on this day.<sup>13</sup>

*Good Friday*.—This is a good or lucky day for sowing beans and potatoes. At Avening, it is unlucky to wash clothes on Good Friday, though no reason is alleged. At Dursley, within the memory of old people, the congregation, at the close of morning service, went to the woods on Stinchcombe Hill to hunt the squirrel. The parish clerk, Mr. T. Phillipps, who remembers it, says that as many as a hundred persons would go. They went all over the wooded parts of the hill, which is Common. I cannot ascertain that any ceremony was associated with the hunt, or any special use made of the squirrels when caught.<sup>14</sup>

*Easter*.—i. Easter Cakes were, and sometimes are still, specially made for the season, in Stroud and Bristol districts. In Bristol itself the custom is particularly strong. A teacher in Bristol, whose home is at Avening, always brings an Easter cake when she comes back for holidays at that season.

ii. Church Clipping. The church at Painswick is now "clipped" by school children on the afternoon of the Feast Sunday (Sept. 19), but old inhabitants say that the custom used to be observed on Easter Monday. The churchyard is noted for a great number of

<sup>12</sup> The proper date is Care or Carle Sunday, the Sunday preceding Palm Sunday. In the northern counties and in Scotland the peas eaten are known as Carlings. See Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (1848), vol. i., pp. 113-8; T. F. Thesleton Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, pp. 121-3.

<sup>13</sup> See Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 110 *et seq.*

<sup>14</sup> For animal hunts, see J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i., pp. 518, 532 (N. W. Thomas).

yew trees, and there is a saying that you can never count them twice alike; also, that there are 99 trees, and that, although one more has several times been planted, yet it will never grow.<sup>15</sup>

iii. Games. Until some thirty years ago, the great day of the year in Minchinhampton was Easter Monday, when people of all ages assembled for games in the Park formerly attached to the Manor House. The line of the ancient earthworks, before it was broken, ran through or else just skirted this Park; and the ground in or near it has many irregularities. A Roman road from Cirencester to Woodchester bounds the Park on one side, along it being a ditch and traces of a mound. An old tithe map, date about 1830, marks the fields adjoining this ditch, just beyond the Park, as "Ditch Yate." On the other side, the churchyard abuts on the Park. The games played here on Easter Monday included many of the traditional ones which the village children still keep up. But four were peculiar to the day<sup>16</sup>:—

(a) Each girl took with her to the Park three sticks specially cut for the purpose, set them up like a cat-gallows, and jumped over them. This was called "Jumping Bushes," and was peculiar to Easter Monday; it was never played by boys.

(b) The winding-up game known as "A bundle of matches" was also peculiar to the day. One person, (the rector generally, at the latest date), stood firm, while the rest with joined hands coiled round him like the spring of a watch. Bystanders were seized and dragged into the game. When all were closely wound up, they jumped up and down, shouting "A bundle of matches! A bundle of matches!"

(c) "Crooked Mustard" was played by girls only, and on no other day in the year. It is not known to the present generation of children. Three girls sat on the ground at short distances apart, so as to form the points of a triangle, while the others, holding hands, wound in and out between them. No words or song occurred. One elderly woman tells me that you played the game round three trees, if you could get them,—or, if not, then round three girls. None of the trees in the Park can now be identified

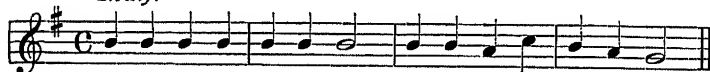
<sup>15</sup> Compare the custom of "clipping the church" at Cradley, Worcestershire, *Notes and Queries*, 5th S., vol. vi., p. 436.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 201.

with the game. "Crooked Mustard" was played at the end of the day, so as to lead up to the grand finale.

(d) "Thread the Needle."<sup>17</sup> When dusk came on, the Park gates adjoining the churchyard were thrown open, and everybody trooped out into the streets, joining hands. One person tells me very confidently that it began round a tump in the Park; but I think this must refer to "Crooked Mustard," for all my other informants agree in naming the Park gates as the starting point of "Thread the Needle." (I cannot ascertain whether the three trees stood on a tump.) One old woman, a well-known 'character,' (whose granddaughter told me most of this), was always sought out to start the game. The two in front held up their hands like an arch, and all the rest ran "drough the niddle," with shouting and singing. Then another pair formed the arch, and so on, all through the streets. (One lady tells me that the players had the right to enter any house they liked, usually in at one door and out at another; but all the old working-class natives that I have talked with firmly deny it.) The words of the game, and the air, are as follows:—

*Slowly.*



Thread the nee-dle to be - gin, Sometimes out and sometimes in.  
Tai-lor's blind and cannot see, So thread the tai-lor's nee - dle.

Persons from the neighbouring hamlet of Box, which lies just under the west end of the Minchinhampton earthworks, joined in these games, which were kept entirely to the Park and the streets. I cannot find any hint that "Thread the Needle" ever ended here in a "Church Clipping," and I have not heard of any other place in Gloucestershire where the game was played. But dancing in the streets was, I am told, formerly the custom at festival times, both at Avening and Cherrington. The old country dance "Haste to the Wedding" was performed out of doors at such seasons.

The prominent part taken by women and girls<sup>18</sup> in these Easter

<sup>17</sup> See (Lady) A. B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 228-32.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Paul Hamelius, of the University of Liège, tells me that, when "Thread the Needle" is played in the villages round Liège, a young girl is always chosen as the leader.

Monday games, coupled with the obvious references to trees or bushes, is more significant when one remembers that the supposed connection between human reproduction and the plant world is not forgotten in Gloucestershire. One day in 1908, while a young lady at Eastington was digging up plants in a garden, I overheard a group of rough lads trying to put her out of countenance by sly allusions to "parsley bed" (laughter) and "tree of life" (more laughter). Perhaps in this connection one may add that at Randwick a rosemary bush will not flourish except in a garden where the woman is master of the house.

*Low Sunday.*—Randwick, formerly a hamlet in the parish of Standish, is a village lying under a hill-camp. Local tradition says that the custom of electing and ducking<sup>19</sup> a "mayor" originated at the building of the church, some six or seven hundred years ago, in this way. At the supper given to the workmen, the "hod" man ate and drank to such an excess that he became noticeable to the other workmen, who there and then took him to the pool and washed him in its waters.<sup>20</sup> Festivities began on the eve of Low Sunday, when the mayor was cried round the principal parts of the village. Three names were always submitted, and this was the form used:—"Oize [*sic*] and another Oize. This is to give notice to all gentlemen freeholders, belonging to the parish of Randwick; and if anyone should know any cause why ——— of ——— shouldn't stand mayor for this year ensuing, they must appear at the High Cross on Monday next, in the forenoon, or otherwise hold their peace. God save the Queen." On Wap Sunday the village was always crowded with visitors. Several people laid in stores of cider to sell at the Wap, and hung out a green bough by way of a sign. Many also made "wiput" or whitepot, a kind of pudding or porridge peculiar to the occasion. It was a standing joke that fleas were supposed to be put into the "wiput" (cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. viii.,

<sup>19</sup> On drenching people as a rain-charm, see J. G. Fraser, *The Golden Bough* (2nd ed.), vol. i., pp. 94 *et seq.*, vol. ii., pp. 121 *et seq.*

<sup>20</sup> E. P. Fennemore, *A History of Randwick*, pp. 53-60. I owe all the other Randwick details to Miss Fennemore, whose family has been at Randwick for generations. Notes on the Wap, by the late Mr. C. A. Witchell of Stroud, an eye-witness, do not contain any details unrecorded by Miss Fennemore.

p. 365). The street was crowded with stalls. On Monday morning hustings were raised at the High Cross, by the stocks, and here the Clerk of the Wap recorded the vote orally delivered by each man. Only "freeholders" could vote; to become a "freeholder," the sum of a shilling or sixpence had to be paid. In 1776, there were 23 "freeholders"; in 1821, there were 22 votes recorded. An ex-mayor was known as an "old lord," and had two votes. After the votes were counted, the Mayor was sworn in. A High Sheriff, Sword-Bearer, and Mopman were also elected. The Poll Book "for the Lord Mayor of Randwick" in 1813 records that "the three officers was Chus'd in, one by the Lord Mayor and other two by the freeholders of the City." Then followed a feast of "wiput" and beer. After the feast, a start was made for the pool, which had been cleared out in readiness. The Mopman went first, to clear the way with a wet mop; then four boys carried whitened rods tied with knots of ribbon; next, the Mayor in his chair of state, dressed in a wig, helmet, and sash. His sceptre was a wooden bowl, from which he sprinkled water on the spectators. When they reached the pool, the chair of state was set down beside the water, and the song was sung to the tune of "All people that on earth do dwell."<sup>21</sup> When the song was ended, the four bearers hoisted the chair on to their shoulders, and walked into the pool, where they set the chair down. The Mopman then chased the people hither and thither with his wet mop. Miss Fennemore tells me that strangers were pursued with great ferocity. From a poem<sup>22</sup> written in 1818, it would seem that both the Lord Mayor and the Mopman sprinkled the crowd.

"His Lordship brandishes his bowl,  
Now brimful of the oozy stream;  
And rush'd down Randwick's peopled lane;  
While he who had the mop pursued  
Another gaping multitude."

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i., (Gloucestershire) pp. 34-37, where the song is given in full. This was called "the new song"; Randwick people know that it replaced an older one, which is entirely forgotten.

<sup>22</sup> *The Lord Mayor of Randwick, or All Fools Day, a comic satirical burlesque poem*, by Scriblerus Secundus, Stroud, 1818. I have to thank Mr. Sidney

Afterwards, the Mayor was borne back to the starting-place, and the rest of the day was spent in merry-making, feasting, and dancing. "To such an extent was this merry-making carried on, that after the Wap some one was deputed to ascend Randwick Hill and watch the chimneys, to see who could afford a fire; and those who had so far exhausted their resources as to be unable to afford one would burn a handful of straw, thereby causing a smoke to ascend the chimney and so deceive the watchers."<sup>23</sup> On the following Wednesday, the "Wappers," headed by a band, marched round the parish, to receive from the farmers their annual allowance of cider. In 1847 or 1848, a gentleman tried to stop the Wap, obtained legal advice, and "wrote to London." "He only elicited the fact that the people of Randwick had been granted a charter, giving them full permission to hold the Wap, or keep "Lord Mayor's Day" (as it is sometimes called), on condition that a mayor was elected, and carried in the chair to the pool every year. If they failed in this but once, the practice could be legally stopped."

In 1892 the Wap was held for the last time. All the paraphernalia of the Mayor's procession was burned a few years ago, except the (quite modern) chair of state. The whole thing had become a disorderly rabble, but the place it held in the affections of Randwick people may be gathered from the last request of an old "Wapper,"—"Bury me just inside the churchyard wall, then I shall hear the Mayor go down." Possibly a Manorial ceremony has here been grafted on to an earlier rite. The mention of electors as "freeholders" is suggestive; and I have definite knowledge of a procession which much resembles the Mayor of Randwick's. Until about 1850, the Bailiff and Jury of the Manor of Alvechurch, Worcestershire, after being sworn in (the Bishop being lord of the manor), perambulated the village. The "Mayor," as the Bailiff was invariably called, was dressed in a red cloak, and carried in a chair, accompanied by a mace-bearer and by twelve jurymen with lighted candles; he was sometimes ducked in the millpond. A feast ended the proceedings, which were always in

Hartland for handing over to me some extracts from this poem, and the notes of Mr. C. A. Witchell.

<sup>23</sup> E. P. Fennemore, *loc. cit.*



October.<sup>24</sup> This manor had formerly an open-air manor-court at Radford Bridge, a mile out of Alvechurch village.<sup>25</sup>

*April 1.*—At Randwick, children go out on April 1st to get "May," as they call the young green of the beech. You are called "a fool" if you cannot show some. This seems like a transference from May Day;<sup>26</sup> but Miss Fennemore is quite certain that the day thus observed is April 1, and says that in sheltered spots a bit of green beech is generally to be found by that date.

*May Day.*—i. Manorial. The court leet of the manor of Minchinhampton is held early in May. The jury swear allegiance to the lord of the manor, and appoint a hayward to take charge of the beasts on the Common. On Old May Day (May 13) some 600 cattle and horses are branded and turned out after being off the Common from the end of March, while the grass grows.

ii. May walking. Here, as elsewhere, one of the most important days in the yearly round of the Common Field system has its popular festival. Round Minchinhampton,<sup>27</sup> people rise early on the first Sunday in May, and go out into the lanes and over the Common. When I went myself, in 1907, on a cold and frosty morning, I saw two or three hundred men, women, and children. Gathering branches to take home was put a stop to, some years ago, as people would enter gardens, damaging trees and bushes. They seem to have done this as if it were a kind of right. At Avening, the "May walkers" not only entered gardens and carried off flowers etc., but they would also unhang the garden gates. "They were particularly down on gates," says Mr. Frost, whose gate was always thrown into the brook! Lads at Nailsworth still take home short bits of stick on May Sunday, and make them into whistles.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> I have these details from family tradition, one of my uncles having been "Mayor" of Alvechurch.

<sup>25</sup> Sir L. Gomme, *Primitive Folk-Moots*, p. 221.

<sup>26</sup> See May boughing below.

<sup>27</sup> Miss Fennemore says that the "May walking" at Randwick is of quite recent origin, and was never heard of in her youth.

<sup>28</sup> See W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, Folk-Lore Society ed. 1879, p. 86.

iii. May boughing. On May Day, at Minchinhampton, some thirty years ago, it was the custom to wear a sprig of oak or beech, not to be carried after mid-day, on pain of being called "May fool." The custom was known as "May boughing." I have recently seen a charming sketch, made by a 'Hampton lady about 1894, of a group of children *à la* Kate Greenaway; underneath were the words—"The schoolchildren may be seen on the 1st of May carrying branches of young beech to school in the morning, which they call 'May.'" The late Mr. John Bellows of Gloucester, writing in 1881,<sup>29</sup> says that our boys and girls arm themselves with boughs of the beech, and perform certain games with them, before mid-day on May 1. I have not been able to discover anything about the "certain games"; but a lady in Nailsworth tells me that the green carried home on May Day was beech, and that a friend used always to take to their house a spray of young beech leaves, for luck. The beech is our tree *par excellence* in the Cotswolds.

iv. Maypole. Mr. Frost of Avening has seen a maypole on the outskirts of Bristol, forty years ago or more. At Cherrington Fair, on May 6, there used to be a maypole; and one still exists at Paganhill, between Stroud and Randwick.

v. Jack-in-the-Green. A Bristol lady remembers seeing Jack-in-the-Green, with a sweep and a Queen, on the outskirts of Bristol about 1865. Mr. Crooke says that Jack-in-the-Green is still kept up at Cheltenham.<sup>30</sup>

vi. May dew. Belief in the virtues of May dew has not quite died out. In 1906, I overheard this conversation between two Minchinhampton girls. "They do say that if you wash your face in May dew early in the morning, you'll have a good complexion." "Oh, you silly, they only tell you that to make you get up early!"

May 29.—Until some thirty years ago, Minchinhampton people used to gather boughs of oak with oak-apples, which they covered with gold-leaf bought on purpose; the decorated boughs were then stuck up in the houses. At Randwick, oak leaves or oak

<sup>29</sup> *Gloucestershire Archaeological Transactions*, vol. vi., p. 229.

<sup>30</sup> See picture and article by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., pp. 50-54.

apples are worn on "Shick-shack day." At Bristol, boys used to wear oak, and sing the rhyme :—

Twenty-ninth of May,  
Oak-apple day,  
If you don't give us a holiday  
We'll all run away.

*Rogationtide or Ascension Day.*—"Beating the Bounds" was performed until quite recently, at Randwick. At Bristol "in olden times the beating of the city boundaries was an occasion of sport and revelry. The Mayor fished in the Froom, and led a duck hunt at Treen Mills, a pond now represented by Bathurst Basin. There was a state procession to the pond, headed by the city trumpeters, while the bells of Redcliff rang merry peals. The custom began to wane early in the eighteenth century."<sup>81</sup>

*Whit Sunday.*—Rushes were quite recently (and may be still) strewn in the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

*Whit Monday.*—A most interesting cheese-rolling is still kept up with great vigour at Cooper's Hill, near Birdlip, on high ground which is grazing Common, and also the site of an ancient encampment. Hundreds of people go out from Cheltenham and Gloucester to see it, every Whit-Monday. This account was given to me in 1907 by a country woman who has seen the ceremony from her childhood.<sup>82</sup> People from Whitcombe and Brockworth parishes assemble on Cooper's Hill Common. A tall pole stands there; it is formally lowered, and then raised up again. It is not necessary to have a new pole every year; the old one is renewed when worn out. The girls of the two parishes used to dance round the pole for a ribbon prize, when my informant was a girl, some twenty to thirty years ago; this is not now done, though a good deal of dancing goes on. Money

<sup>81</sup> C. Wells, *A Short History of the Port of Bristol* (ed. in parts), Pt. 2, p. 40.

<sup>82</sup> There is a full account of the celebrations held this year at Cooper's Hill in *The Gloucestershire Echo*, May 28, 1912. Mr. W. Brookes, who has performed the duty for thirty years, was in charge, wearing a brown top-hat decked with variegated ribbons which his father and mother wore in a dancing contest, and a chemise over his coat. The vicar rolled the first cheese, a disc of wood wrapped in pink paper. Nine young men pursued it, and most of them "pitch-poled." [I learn that there is nothing in the way of ritual in the number nine.] Cf. *supra*, p. 351.

has previously been collected to buy two or three cheeses, and lads under sixteen or thereabouts, from the above-named parishes, compete for them. The cheeses are set rolling down the side of the hill, the lads follow, and those who are successful in getting a cheese carry it off home. There is no ceremony of cutting up or distributing the cheeses, but if one happens to break while rolling there is a general scramble for the pieces. One old man always takes the lead in the ceremonies, and starts the cheeses rolling. He lives in a cottage hard by, and the office of leader has been in his family for many years. My informant thought the next oldest in his family would succeed to the office. She also said,—“We do this so that we can keep our right to the Common; if we didn’t do it, we should lose our Common.” No words or song occur at any part of the Cheese-rolling.<sup>33</sup> The day is kept as the “Feast.” Roast beef and plum pudding are eaten, a coin and a ring being put into the pudding.

*Village Feasts.*—Many Cotswold parishes keep their annual Feast in the autumn, usually on the Sunday after the church dedication festival, which is sometimes observed on the date according to Old Style. There are family gatherings, a special dish for the occasion, and often open house, especially at the smaller public-houses. The dish is pork and turnips at Gloucester (end of September); pig’s cheek and parsnips at Bisley (Sunday after 12 Nov.: All Saints, Old Style); leg of mutton and turnips at Haresfield (3rd Sunday in September, though the church dedication is to St. Peter); at Nympsfield, puddings or dumplings are made of wild plums or “heg-pegs.” There is a local rhyme, twitting the Nympsfield folks, who are very sensitive on the point:—

Nympsfield is a pretty place,  
Built upon a tump,  
And what the people live upon  
Is heg-peg [or “ag-pag”] dump.

Nympsfield lies between “Hetty Pegler’s tump,”—*i.e.* Uley Bury tumulus,—and Lynch Field; but there is a “Barrow field,” of which only the name remains, in the village itself. At Avening,

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the cheese-rolling round the Church at Randwick on May morning, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i., (Gloucestershire) p. 18. No memory of this custom survives in Randwick to-day.

on the Sunday after Holy Cross Day, pig's head and dumplings are eaten. Some of the smaller public-houses display the head in their windows, and it is afterwards given away to customers. Drink is taken up into the church tower for the ringers. At Chalford Feast (about Aug. 15) a sheep used to be roasted whole. Woodchester Feast (St. Mary's; 1st Sunday after Sept. 8) is kept with pig's cheek. It used to be said that so much was eaten and spent at Woodchester Feast that on the Sunday following, if you looked across from the other side of the valley, you could see only one chimney smoking in Woodchester, and all the people rushing to that house for dinner. (A similar saying about Honley Feast is reported from the neighbourhood of Huddersfield.) But the most remarkable of all our Cotswold food-customs is at Painswick Feast, on the Sunday after Sept. 19 (St. Mary the Virgin, Old Style). Small china dogs are bought and put into apple or other fruit pies. No good or bad luck belongs to the person to whose portion the dog may fall, neither is it given to any special member of the household. It is considered a great joke among outsiders, who laugh at Painswick natives as "Painswick bow-wows." "You do come from Painswick, out of a Bow-wow pie," is another form of taunt. An explanation of the custom is given by saying that someone once hanged a dog and ate it in a pie.<sup>34</sup> The custom still goes on quietly. You can buy the china dogs at one or two small shops, just before the Feast; but the poorer people often flatly deny doing anything of the kind, and readily take offence over it. Is a similar custom pointed to in the jeer at Thames bargees—"Who ate the puppy-pie under Marlow Bridge?"<sup>35</sup>

At Coaley (where the church is dedicated to St. Bartholomew) the Feast seems to have been more like a hill-wake (*cf.* the cheese-rolling at Cooper's Hill mentioned above). Fosbrooke says,—“The wake day of the church is noticed by Mr. Smythe, as in his time forming a concourse or fair, where all kinds of country wares were sold; and, he adds, the number of young people, ascending and descending the hill called *Couley Pike*, and boys

<sup>34</sup> See also *Folk-Lore*, vol. viii., pp. 390-2.

<sup>35</sup> The story told to explain this is given, with some similar jeers, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd S., vol. viii. (1859), pp. 496-7.

tumbling down, especially on Communion days, in the afternoons afforded much pleasure to the elder sort.”<sup>86</sup> At Minchinhampton, where the church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, no Feast has been observed within living memory. Old churchwardens’ accounts refer to the Trinity Church-Ale; and perhaps the last vestige of a Feast died out with the Trinity Monday Fair, some thirty years ago. Gilt gingerbread, in the shape of horses and other animals, was a great feature of the Fair; and anyone could sell beer if he hung out a bush in front of the house.

*Nov. 5.*—While bonfires are found in every village, guys are only local. They used to be common at Bristol. About five years ago, I heard that a notorious offender against morality was burned in effigy at Nailsworth. At Stroud, until 1824, a bonfire was lighted at the Cross, and flaming tar-barrels used to be set rolling down the steep High Street.<sup>87</sup>

*Dec. 21-25.*—At Minchinhampton and Avening, persons went round just before Christmas, begging for money. The custom was known as “mumping.” It was done by poor men and women too respectable to beg at other times. At Abson, near Mangotsfield, it is still kept up, and is there called “gooding.”

*Christmas.*—i. Holly. Early in December, 1905, I was carrying some fine holly through Chalford, and a group of women in the street commented upon the ill luck that would follow my taking it into the house before Christmas Day.

ii. Mummers. In several, perhaps many, Cotswold villages, the Mummers’ Play of St. George is still performed.

iii. Wassail bowl. Wassailers still go round at Randwick, Woodchester, Avening, Minchinhampton, the outskirts of Stroud, and probably many other villages. They formerly had a large wooden (maple) bowl, which at Minchinhampton was kept during the year in the possession of one man known as “King of the Wassailers.” It was decorated with evergreens and small dolls. The latter are now omitted, and a modern bowl is used, with quite a bower of greenery and coloured paper over-arching it. Money is dropped into the bowl, and spent on drink. An old woman of seventy-eight can remember when there were as

<sup>86</sup> T. D. Fosbrooke, *Abstracts of Records etc.*, vol. i., p. 435.

<sup>87</sup> P. H. Fisher, *Notes and Recollections of Stroud*, p. 70.

many as twenty of these wassailers in Minchinhampton ; now there are but three or four. She says that there was never more than one band of them in a village. I have got the following verses from a native of the village ; an alternative ending to each verse runs

... "that we may all sing,  
Christmas Day all in the morning."

" Wassail, wassail, all over the town,  
Our bread is white, our ale it is brown ;  
Our bowl is made of the mapling tree,  
To my wassailing bowl I drink unto thee.

Here's health to our master and to his right eye,  
God send our master a good Christmas pie !  
A good Christmas pie that we may all see,  
To my wassailing bowl I drink unto thee.

Here's health to our master and to his right ear,  
God send our master a barrel of good beer ! . . .

Here's health to our master and to his right arm,  
God send our master a good crop of corn ! [corn] . . .

Here's to our master and to his right leg,  
God send our master a jolly fat peg ! "

The Randwick version given me by Miss Fennemore has an additional chorus :—

" Wy-sail [*sic*], Wy-sail, to my jolly Wy-sail,  
And joy shall go with our jolly Wy-sail."

It also contains two more verses and a finale, as follows :—

" Here's health to our master and to his right hoof,  
Here's wishing our master a good crop o' fruit. . . .

Here's health to our master and to his long tail,  
Here's wishing our master a jolly Wy-sail. . . .

Come, all ye pretty maidens, I hope there are some,  
Don't let your Wy-sailers stand on the cold stone,  
But heave up the latch and pull out the pin,  
And let your jolly Wy-sailers walk in.

Come butler, come butler, bring us bowl of your best ;  
I hope all your souls in heaven will rest ;  
But if you do bring us a bowl of your small,  
Down goes the butler, bowl and all."

In older forms<sup>38</sup> of the song, the animals of the farm were included in the Wassail:—

“Here’s to [*name of horse*] and to his right ear . . .

Here’s to [*name of cow*] and to her long tail . . .” etc.

The air, as it was sung at my door on Christmas Eve, 1910, runs thus:—



Dec. 28.—A muffled peal is still rung at Dursley.

In conclusion, I hope that these few notes may prove to be but a first instalment of Cotswold folklore. I should be extremely grateful if any readers of *Folk-Lore* could give me further details of lore from the Cotswolds, or from the wider field of the county of Gloucester.

J. B. PARTRIDGE.

<sup>38</sup> See W. Hone, *Every-Day Book*, vol. i., p. 12; *N. and Q.*, 6th S., vol. v., p. 64; and *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, vol. i., p. 54, where an air is given, practically the same as the above, as sung at Stow-on-the-Wold.

#### COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, AND FOLK-BELIEF IN VAL D'OSSOLA (PIEDMONT).

THE Val d'Ossola stretches from Pallanza on Lake Maggiore north-westwards to Domodossola, and is said to derive its name from the Osci or Oscelli, a branch of the Leponti from whom the Lepontine Alps are named and who were of the ancient stock of the Liguri.

In the evening it is the custom amongst the peasants to meet either in the stables or stove-rooms (*stufa*), which are small low-ceilinged rooms with tiny dusty windows. Round the stone or iron stove in one corner are gathered rough stools and broken



chairs, and from above hangs the *alum*, a brass lamp fed with walnut oil. About eight o'clock arrive the first-comers,—girls who carry with them spinning wheels, of which the rocks are decorated with ribbons and on which linen threads are being spun for their trousseaus (*scherpia*). The young wives with their babies follow, and the old women, who sew the *ras* (half-woollen dresses) or the thick-soled cloth shoes or slippers, which are called *patuse*, *pedui*, or *scufui*, according to the village. Before the men arrive the women sing the rosary in a *cantilena* or slow melody. The young men (*buli*) arrive in a body, wearing gorgeous kerchiefs around their necks and red waistbands. They sit beside the girls, talking merrily, and the boldest of them strive to steal one of the girls' kerchiefs, their good fortune being measured by the numbers of kerchiefs they succeed in obtaining. One youth whom I knew had collected no less than thirty kerchiefs, each with the initials of its owner's name; one kerchief was square, and on it was embroidered with red thread these lines:—

“Fazzoletto volante,  
Vola in braccia al mio amante,  
Non posso volar io,  
Vola tu fazzoletto mio”

(i.e. “Flying handkerchief, fly into my lover's arms; I cannot myself fly, fly thou, my handkerchief”). About ten o'clock the older people come in, and the talk turns to local matters, such as taxes, foot-and-mouth disease, and so on. The village musician also will often join the party to play well-known popular airs, and in Carnival time the evening will end with dancing. At times the old women will stay the musician, and tell tales of the witches who assemble on the Pizzo d'Andola, or of the luminous *folletti* (hobgoblins) and mysterious lights wandering amongst the black rocks of Gridone and of the Pioda di Orana, or of the Vaina, a wicked creature which imitates the wailing of a baby and rolls down from the mountain tops to crush any unfortunate passer-by. At midnight, or at one o'clock, the stove gets cold and empty, and all leave for their homes.

While the winter evenings of a courtship,—usually a long one,—are spent as above in stables or in hay lofts, the meetings of lovers at Antrona take place from spring to autumn on the Alpine

meadows, where the girls are tending the cattle. The youth (*giavàn*) starts from home after supper, without a light, to join his sweetheart, who feeds him with cream and butter. In the end the youth seeks the girl's father, and says somewhat as follows,—“I am sorry, but I am taking something away from you. Your daughter suits me, and I want her.” The father professes surprise, asks his daughter about the matter, and, when she has assented, replies,—“When is the marriage to be?” The two lovers then go to the bridegroom's parents, and a similar scene occurs.

Marriages never take place on a Tuesday or on a Friday :—

“Nè di Venere, nè di Marte,  
Non si sposa e non si parte”

(i.e. “Neither on Friday, nor on Tuesday, does one marry or leave home”).

Generally they are held on a Sunday, and, if for some reason they take place on any other day, the bride and bridegroom each return afterwards to their old home, as if not yet married. On the following Sunday morning, the bridegroom's father goes to the bride's home, and says to her relations,—“I have come to take my property away.” He then gives his arm to the bride, and all go to the bridegroom's house, where a wedding feast is held. On the wedding day, the bride at Antrona is expected to pass the early morning in dressing and weeping, and must not appear at the breakfast to the wedding guests. After the meal she takes the father's arm to go out, but at the door two of her friends will stop her by holding two silk ribbons across the opening. The bridegroom must bribe the holders of the ribbons with a five-lira piece to allow the bride's passage. When he is outside, the way to the church is still obstructed, as all the roads will have been barred by friends of the couple with *sciufa* or poles secured by wires to the side walls. The bridegroom and his relatives take off their jackets and clear the way with hatchets, the bride and her friends looking on. Some of the bridegroom's friends must meanwhile keep a sharp look-out to prevent the stealing of the bride. Sometimes the bride is carried off, and hours lost in recovering her. Finally, after the way has been cleared and the bride found or successfully preserved from being stolen, the party reaches the

church, the door of which is decorated with myrtle and laurel (*porta triunfanta*). After the church ceremony, all go for dinner to the bridegroom's house, at the door of which the bride is given by the bridegroom's mother the traditional kiss and everyday head-kerchief which reminds her of her future lot of household labour. At various points on the way from the church will be placed tables, each with two glasses of liquor and two nosegays. The newly-married pair must drink the liquor and take the nosegays, and fill a plate with confetti. On the way, the traditional sweets, confetti (*benis*), boiled chestnuts, nuts, and walnuts are distributed to the spectators. After dinner the *Te Deum* is sung, the bridegroom's father starting it if the curé is not present. After the feast, wine-drinking, and supper, the guests disperse, and the bride returns to her own home. At dusk on the following day the bride bids goodbye to her relatives, and goes to her husband's home, followed by a number of girls proportionate to her station and carrying in *gerli* (baskets for the back) her *scherpia* (dowry of linen).

In some places in Piedmont, if the bride or bridegroom has jilted a former lover, a line of sawdust will be laid from the inconstant lover's house to that of the unfortunate sweetheart.

On the last day of Carnival some maskers will draw a pig roughly on large sheets of paper, or on the leaf of a book, and pretend to read aloud from this manuscript to the laughing bystanders the lives or stories of any unmarried girls who have refused or jilted lovers, *i.e.* to whom they have *dato il porco* (given the pig).

At Carnival time girls and boys dance around a fire, singing:—

"Carnival l'a rott ul co'.  
Vegn da mi, ch'al cusiro.  
Pam la quqia e'l didal.  
Viva, Viva, Carnival!"

(*i.e.* "Carnival has broken his head. Come to me, I will mend it. Give me needle and thread. Long live, long live, Carnival!").

At Antrona, at Easter time, a quantity of holy water is taken to the church to be blessed. Every peasant takes some home in a bottle, which is kept in the house ready for the use of the curé in cases of emergency.

ESTELLA CANZIANI.

## LOWER CONGO FOLKLORE SCRAPS.

*Nightmares.*—Witches (*ndoki*) are believed to have the power to *bolota* or *fina*, i.e. squeeze the life out of, a victim in sleep. Hence, if a man has a nightmare in which he dreams that someone tries to choke him, he will grunt, snort, and waken with a start, persuaded that he has been attacked by a witch, who has assumed, for the purpose of throttling him, any weird form seen in the dream. Such a dream is regarded with horror.

"*Changing the name,*" (*nsobw' a ezina*).—When a wealthy chief died, his nephew and successor could only take his money after he had assumed the title, an operation which is called *nsobw' a ezina*. The title was conferred by a man sent by the King of San Salvador, and no *nganga* or medicine-man was employed. The same phrase is used in other connections. For example, two girls, Diamoneka and Lombo, were engaged to be married to two men in the neighbourhood of San Salvador, but their mother told their brother, Nlemvo, that if he left the district he must take them with him. By-and-by he wanted to go to Vianga, a town near Wathen. As the men to whom they were betrothed refused to return the marriage money, two other women had to be obtained and given to the men as substitutes; with each was also given a pig, which was called *nsobw' a ezina*.

*Marriage price.*—Nlemvo's father paid only 55 small oval-shaped red beads for Nlemvo's mother as his wife at some time between 1850 and 1860. Such beads were then very scarce and dear, but are now worth only about ten a penny.

*Secret societies.*<sup>1</sup>—While living in the *vela* or in the lodges of the *nkimba* and *ndembo* societies, a member may not be accused of witchcraft, nor is he or she supposed to be susceptible to the witchcraft of others. But members who have left the lodges and are living in a town are in the same position as other people as regards witchcraft. This is in accord with the practice that no absentee from the town can be concerned with witchcraft.

*Bullroarer.*—This is made from bamboo or wood, and is called *ngwingwingwe*. It is only regarded as a plaything. Women, and also men and children, will put their hands over their faces when

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xx., pp. 189-201.

they approach one in use, but this appears to be only from fear of the many accidents due to bullroarers coming off their strings.

*Law customs.*—The following palaver illustrates some points in native law. A pig belonging to the people of Lumweno, a town near Wathen, was killed by a Mansangi man on a farm belonging to the Mansangi people. The Lumweno folk demanded payment for the pig, but this was refused on the ground that any pigs found digging up cassava roots on a farm can be killed. After a time the Mansangi women went to work on the particular farm again, but their hoes were taken away by the Lumweno women, who were more numerous, and claimed the land on the ground that a Lumweno pig had been killed on it and no compensation paid. The same evening the Mansangi chief sent a letter to the Lumweno chief. The messenger carried a gun, which was against native custom, and so the Lumweno people took the gun away from him, on the plea that "the messenger was bringing force into their town." The chiefs of the district settled the palaver by fining the Lumweno people one pig because they claimed land which did not belong to them, as the killing of their pig gave them no rights over the land on which it was killed; they also fined the Mansangi people one goat because the messenger had no right to carry a gun when he went to deliver a letter.

J. H. WEEKS.

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#### QUEBEC FOLKLORE NOTES, II.<sup>1</sup>

If your nose itches, you have kissed, or been kissed by, a fool. (? Influenced by English-Canadian beliefs. This omen is also reported from Ontario.)

To spill sugar is decidedly unlucky.

If troubled with cramp in the legs and feet at night, put your shoes on the floor with the soles upwards when you go to bed. This is a sure preventive.<sup>2</sup>

A child born on Friday will be either exceedingly lucky or the reverse.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 345. The fresh notes are from the same *habitant* girl as the former items.

<sup>2</sup> In Yorkshire shoes are crossed to keep off the cramp. Cf. vol. xx., p. 348.

November is not a good birth-month, being *le mois des morts*.

If a child sucks his finger, the habit is curable; but, if he sucks his thumb, nothing will break him of it, and it is of no use trying.

A girl who goes about with her dress not properly fastened, e.g. unhooked at the back, will lose her lover. (Just such another bit of popular morality as the second "marriage omen" in the last set of notes.)

E. H. and H. J. ROSE.

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CUSTOMS AT DEATH AMONG THE MANIPURIS AND  
COGNATE CLANS.

ALL deaths which are not in the ordinary course of nature are considered likely to have evil effects either on the community or on the near relations of the deceased. This belief is found among all the inhabitants of the hill tracts of Assam, and there are many interesting points with reference to it which would repay investigation, but in this note I only propose to deal with the deaths of infants and deaths in childbirth. Such deaths are generally classed as abnormal, and necessitate the performance of some ceremony to remove the evil consequences which are thought likely to ensue.

The spirits of infants which die under three years of age are considered by the Manipuris to be extremely malicious, and, should any one tread on the grave of such a child, he would certainly get some disease of the eyes or of the feet. Such spirits are also always on the look-out for an opportunity to become reincarnated, and therefore steps have to be taken to avoid this, for it is thought that the child in which the spirit is born again will also die young. As is only natural, the spirit is more likely to re-enter the womb of the mother of the dead baby than that of any other woman, and therefore the parents perform the ceremonies described below to avert such a misfortune.

The spirits of male children dying in infancy are called *Suren*, and those of females *Apumbi*. In order to prevent them from

injuring passers-by, their bodies are buried in remote spots where people do not go frequently,—often in deep graves close to the water's edge on a river bank. The *Maiba*, or priest of the ancient gods of the country, buries with the corpse some well-roasted peas, saying,—“When these peas spring up you may return, and not before.” In Andro, a village inhabited by people who have not yet been perverted to Hinduism, the *Maiba* takes a stone and a little cotton wool, and, having put the stone into the right, and the wool into the left, hand of the dead child, he throws them into some water, saying,—“You are bad; do not return till this stone floats and this cotton sinks.”<sup>1</sup>

The burial takes place on the day of the death, and three days later the *Lai-yu-pal*<sup>2</sup> ceremony is performed. The *Maiba* takes a bunch of plantains, and, commencing from one end, says *chāng* (alive) to the first, and *si* (dead) to the second, and so on. If the word *si* falls on the last fruit, the bunch is suitable; otherwise it is rejected, and the experiment repeated till a suitable one is found. This bunch is then placed in the verandah of the house, and beside it are placed two pieces of plantain leaf cut into a circular form, on one of which is placed a little betel nut, and on the other a fruit called *hei-ruk*. If the child be a boy, a puggri, loin-cloth, and muslin shawl are placed beside the other offerings; if the infant be a girl, a petticoat and the muslin shawl suffice. The *Maiba* invokes the spirit of the child, saying,—“We have given you all things. Go and do not return.” The articles then pass into the possession of the *Maiba*. Three months later a complicated ceremony known as *Suren thingatpa* is performed. The following articles are collected and placed on a winnowing-fan,—an earthen cup containing a duck's egg and rice flour, a second cup full of parched rice, a bunch of plantains terminating in *chāng* and two bunches terminating in *si*; two circular pieces of plantain leaves with betel nut and fruit on them, and six cloths. The

<sup>1</sup> Should the mother die before giving birth, the foetus is removed and buried as above described.

<sup>2</sup> This name is a survival of pre-Hindu days. To this day the Nāga before drinking pours a little of his *yu* (rice beer) on to the ground as an offering to the *lai* or god. The Manipuris, having become strict Vaishnavas, omit the *yu*, while keeping the name.

plantains are placed on the top of the third cloth, and the other things are laid over them. If the parents are poor, a puggri, muslin shawl, and either a loincloth or a petticoat may be substituted for the cloths. The winnowing-fan with its contents is now placed on one side, and the following articles are collected in the verandah,—a handkerchief, a plantain leaf, a bunch of plantains ending in *chāng*, a betel nut which has begun to sprout, one big and seven small *pan* leaves, a lemon or some sort of lime, two circular pieces of plantain leaves on which *pan* and betel nut and some fruit are placed, and a candle made of beeswax. These being all collected in the verandah, the ceremony commences about six or seven in the evening. The *Maiba* faces Kobru, a high hill at the northern end of the valley and the abode of a very powerful *Uyang-lai* or forest god, who is called the guardian of the north, and recites a prayer to Guru-sidaba, who is the chief of the seven gods of the stars. The goods collected in the verandah, having been offered to the god, are removed, and become the property of his minister the *Maiba*.

The next stage in the proceedings commences with a small portion of the eatables collected on the winnowing-fan being brought and placed on a handkerchief in the north-east corner of the verandah, while the *Maiba* addresses Lamjasara lathokpa. "Here we offer you your share. Do not disturb our worship." [Lamjasara lathokpa is a malevolent spirit, who has no home, and so wanders about troubling mankind.] All preliminaries being accomplished, the actual *Suren thingatpa* ceremony commences by the parents, dressed in their best clothes, taking up their position in the north-east corner of the yard, the *Maiba* standing on their right holding the winnowing-fan with all the articles on it. The whole party faces Kobru. The *Maiba* passes the winnowing-fan to the father, and the parents hold it over their heads, moving it up and down while the *Maiba* prays that the *Suren* will be satisfied and go to Guru-sidaba, and not return and trouble people. This over, the winnowing-fan is returned to the *Maiba*, who takes possession of its contents. The parents, relieved of care as to the *Suren*, dance back to the house. If they are desirous of more children, the *Maiba* follows them and gives the father a lime, which he has previously offered to Guru-sidaba,



saying,—“Here is a child that Guru-sidaba has sent to you.” The father takes it, and hands it to his wife, who wraps it in her cloth and nurses it as if it were a baby. This lime is kept very carefully in some secret place. The offering to Lamjasara lathokpa is left until the morning, and then thrown away.

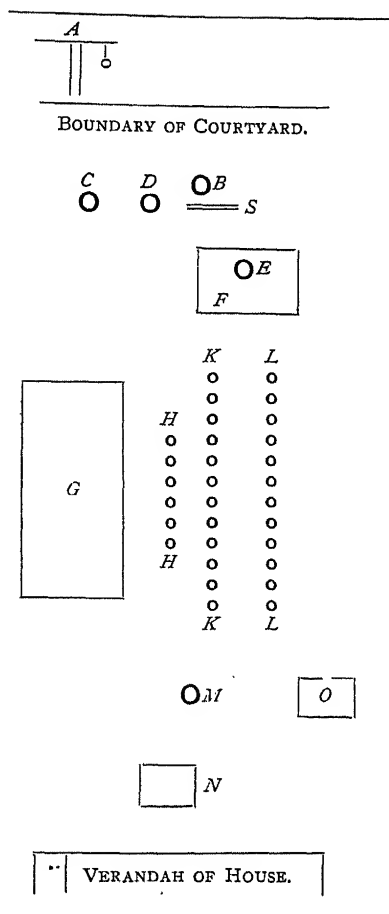
Should an outbreak of sickness cause people to think that some *Suren* has not been appeased, enquiries are made, and, if the offending parents can be found, they are compelled to carry out the ceremony. If the enquiries lead to nothing, the ceremonies are performed by public subscription among the members of the *Sagei* (*i.e.* those who can trace their descent back to a common ancestor). From a note supplied to me by the Rev. W. Pettigrew, who has been many years working among the Tangkhuls (a clan of some 26,000 souls inhabiting the hills between the valley of Manipur and the Chindwin), we learn that the bodies of children dying in infancy are buried promiscuously in shallow graves, and they are not represented in the annual ceremony in honour of those who have died during the year. Their spirits are supposed not to become honey bees, like those of other folk, but house flies, and to live on the refuse of other spirits' plates in Kazai-ram, the abode of the dead. A piece of a shrub called *mangrahai*, (a species of cock sorrel,) is placed in the hand of the infant before burial, in order that the little one may suck it and appease its hunger on the way to Kazai-ram. Among the Kabuis, a tribe inhabiting the hills to the west of the Manipur valley, the bodies of such infants are buried behind the house, without ceremony, other burials taking place in front. The village is unclean for five days, during which no one may go out. Among the Shans in the Upper Chindwin valley, if the youngest child of a family dies while still an infant, it is buried without any ceremony. After death the corpse must not be laid down, but must be carried in the arms of some relative. A week later the mother squeezes some of her milk on to the place where the child used to sleep, and some milk and boiled rice is sent to the *phongyis* (priests) in place of the usual funeral feast.<sup>3</sup> Among the Lusheis,

<sup>3</sup> Should a woman die before childbirth, the Shans, like the people of Andro, remove the foetus and bury it separately, lest the spirit should trouble that of the mother in a future state.

a first-born child dying within a year of its birth is termed *hlam-zuih* (*hlam*, afterbirth, and *zuih*, to follow), and is buried without any ceremony under the house. The spirits of such children cannot be shot at by Pupawla, the dreaded archer whose house is at the junction of the seven roads to Mi-thi-khua, the dead men's village, whence he shoots with his pellet bow at all poor souls hurrying by. In Marām, a Naga village to the north of the Manipur valley, the corpse of a child dying within ten days of its birth is buried at the foot of the centre post of the house, instead of outside. The Kolhen, another small tribe living near the Manipur valley, also fix ten days as the unlucky period, and children dying within it are buried under the eaves of the house. Among the Ronte, children dying within a year of birth are buried without ceremony to the east of the village, whereas the regular cemetery is to the west. It will be seen that, though all these clans treat such deaths as abnormal, and bury the bodies of such children in a manner different to those of persons dying in the ordinary way, it is only among the Manipuris, the people of Andro, the Shans, and the Ronte that the difference in procedure denotes a fear of the spirit of the dead child. All the other clans, while observing no ceremony, bury the body either in or near the house, as if to encourage the return of the spirit. The absence of ceremony may be due to a belief that the spirit which sojourned so short a time has hardly acquired a distinct personality, which would account for the omission of all reference to such spirits at the Tangkhul annual ceremony in honour of the dead.

We will next consider the cases in which women die in childbirth or soon after. Among the Kabui a death occurring within two months of the birth is classed as "unlucky." Among the people of Andro a death occurring before the removal of the afterbirth is counted as an unnatural death. In Phayeng, a village closely allied to Andro, deaths occurring on the day of the birth are unnatural. In other clans the periods are less clearly defined, but in all clans such deaths are considered unlucky, and there is a general belief that it is possible, so to speak, to catch the disease from the corpse, and therefore, in nearly every clan, the funeral has to be carried out by very old men and women. Other precautions are taken to remove the "infection." Among

the Kabui, all the woman's clothing and all cloths which she may have woven, even if they are in possession of others, are thrown away, the body is taken out of the house through the back door, and the back portion of the house is pulled down. The husband is not allowed to eat the flesh of any animal that has died, nor any vegetables unless he cooks them himself, until the annual festival which marks the close of the year. The village itself is closed for five days, and no one may go out; if any enter, they cannot leave till the fifth day is completed. In some villages, no thread may be dyed red or black for five years; in others, the prohibition is only for the current year. In Marām the whole house is demolished. Among the Tangkhuls, Mr. Pettigrew notes that the body must be buried by very old men and women, and that young folks are even prohibited from eating any of the meat either in the funeral feast or at the annual ceremony in honour of the dead, for fear that they themselves should die in the same way, or become barren or impotent. In most clans some purifying ceremonies have to be observed either by the whole village or by the family of the deceased. In Andro, the whole *Sagei* is unclean until the following ceremony has been performed on a day selected by the *Maiba*. The whole *Sagei* having assembled, two fowls are produced and laid on the ground, with their legs tied, so that they cannot move away. Each member of the *Sagei* then takes a mouthful of water, and, stepping over one fowl, blows the water over the other. After each has done this three times, all receive a little ginger, *haimang* (a jungle fruit), salt, and pepper, after which they are clean. The *Maiba* receives a black dog, a goat, and a fowl. None of the *Sagei* may eat the flesh of these animals. The corpse is burnt in the ordinary manner, but at Phayeng the corpse is taken to a special place outside the village, where it is burnt with some paddy, vegetables, and the body of a goat that is killed beside the funeral pile. Among the Manipuris a very elaborate ceremony has to be performed to remove the evil influence from the husband. The various articles having been arranged in the yard of the house, as shown in the following diagram,—



A. A tree or post on which is hung a packet of all sorts of eatables wrapped up in leaves.

B. A branch of the *Nongleisang* tree planted in the ground.

C. Basket of paddy.

D. Basket of rice.

S. *Seng-gam*, two upright reeds supporting a third from which depends a black cloth containing twenty *pie* (copper coins), the whole being covered by a white cloth.

E. A winnowing fan, on F, a mat.

G. Three cloths laid on the ground, and on them a bunch of plantains, covered by three more cloths; said to represent the corpse.

H—H. Pan and betel nut.

K—K. Twelve *kegam*, cups full of rice with a lime on the top of each.

L—L. Twelve *chapu*, earthen pots full of rice with a lime on the top of each.

M. A pot of water.

N. *Maiba's* seat.

O. *Lei-hul*, flowers offered to Senamahi, household god.

the sister of the husband brings some flowers and a little rice. Five discs of local salt are hung up along the front of the verandah, and after the ceremony these are thrown away outside the village, where cows are likely to eat them; this is to remove bad luck, and prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. The *Maiba* now takes his seat behind the water pot, in which, while muttering charms, he moistens a bunch of leaves. The floor of

the house is smeared with fresh cow-dung, and the hearth is cleaned and sprinkled with water by the *Maiba*, who enters with three other men. He takes a little earth from the hearth, and places it in a leaf held by one of his companions. They then all four walk around the hearth thrice, and then go out. The old earth is thrown away, and some fresh is obtained and put into the place on the hearth whence the old earth was taken. After this the husband is seated in the yard in front of the *Maiba*, and is sprinkled by him with the holy water, and then the husband's sister presents the *Maiba* with rice and vegetables and some money. All the articles laid out are removed to the *Maiba's* house, except the bag of *pice*, which is left hanging from the *Seng-gam*. The *Maiba* walks off towards his house, holding his hands behind his back, and the husband takes the black cloth with the *pice* inside it and, running after the *Maiba*, places it in his hands, saying,—“You have forgotten something.” The *Maiba* must go straight on without looking round, and thus all the ill-luck is removed.

Among the Shans of the Upper Chindwin valley, the woman's corpse is buried in the usual way, but the husband has to go through a purification ceremony. Immediately after the burial he changes into ragged clothes beside the grave, and feigns madness. The villagers pelt him with stones, and he flies from them to the river and plunges in. On emerging he dresses in new clothes, and returns cleansed. The house also has to be purified. In these cases also we find indications of two prevailing ideas. In the two last cases the house and the husband are specially purified, the corpse being disposed of in the ordinary way. At Andro, the evil influence spreads to the whole of the *Sagei*, but it appears to be independent of the corpse. In the other class of cases the evil influence seems to be specially attached to the body and clothing of the deceased, and in some cases to the house also. The Kabuis seem to hold both theories, as the prohibition placed on the husband eating certain articles is evidently meant to counteract the malign influence to which he is supposed to be particularly subject, and the closing of the village for five days, and the tabu placed on dyeing thread, show that the whole community is also considered in danger, while the “infection” clings

to the clothing of the deceased, and is communicable even by cloths which she has woven long before.

All the clans to which I have referred, except the Shans, are very closely connected, and one would have expected to have found greater uniformity in their ideas. As yet I have no explanation to offer of the cause of the differences pointed out, but perhaps some reader may be able to suggest one.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

#### ARMENIAN RIDDLES.

AT social gatherings amongst Armenians, proverbs and riddles are sometimes repeated for the entertainment of the company, and the following are translations, with answers, of favourite riddles used for such a purpose :

1. I tie it ; it goes a-roaming ;  
I loose it ; it stays a-homing. (*A shoe.*)
2. A dark house ; a snug sleep. (*The grave.*)
3. There's a deep, deep well ;  
All there is betwixt heaven and hell  
Falls therein. (*The ear.*)
4. The more I hew it, the longer it grows ;  
The more I smooth it, the thicker it grows. (*A well.*)
5. I grasp it ; I cast it ;  
It dieth a year ; then again doth appear. (*Wheat sowing.*)
6. Unstrung pearls ; unwound thread ;  
The Lord threads them ; man unthreads them.  
(*A pomegranate.*)
7. Flint above ; no rock is it ;  
Grass it eats ; no sheep is it ;  
Eggs it lays ; no fowl is it. (*A turtle.*)
8. A snow-white field I own ;  
With my hand it is sown ;  
With my lips it is mown. (*A letter.*)

9. A snake, in a lake, with a flaming head. (*A wick in oil.*)
10. I rolled it down the mountain, it was not broken ;  
I dragged it through the valley, 'twas borne by breezes ;  
I placed a stone upon it, it was not broken ;  
I dropped it in the water, it fell to pieces. (*Paper.*)
11. A roll of satin that never saw loom ;  
A sack of flour that never saw mill ;  
A stem I grow on that oak did not bear. (?)
12. Four divisions in a casket ;  
There's a loaf in every basket. (*Walnut.*)
13. I hollowed the rotten limb ;  
I buried a lion therein. (*Sword and scabbard.*)
14. The barren bore the germless,  
O'er the crossing of the ceaseless.  
(*Mule, salt, bridge, and river.*)
15. I have a granary the Lord hath wrought,  
With marble pillars ranged round about. (*Mouth and teeth.*)
16. Lock of water ; key of wood ;  
The prey escaped ; the hunter's trapped.  
(*The Red Sea, Moses' rod, the Israelites, and Pharaoh.*)
17. It has three feet, and through its beard  
It stands and eats my father's hoard. (*Candlestick.*)
18. Table of pearl ; feet of silver ;  
Moonlight its jailer ; sunlight its key. (*Ice.*)
19. There is a spreading, leafy tree,  
Beneath the tree a level park,  
Beneath the park a pencilled mark,  
Beneath the mark a brimming glass,  
Beneath the glass a trumpet crass,  
Beneath the horn a roomy loft,  
The loft is full of shining scythes. (*The head.*)<sup>1</sup>

J. S. WINGATE.

<sup>1</sup> With the above may be compared the collection of riddles in Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Traditions Populaires de l'Asie Mineure* (1889), pp. 276-82.

## DONEGAL CURES AND CHARMS.

WE had several charmers in my father's village,—Paddy M'Carron, Bell Bradley, and young Thompson, seventh son of a seventh son, who, being a doctor by birth, could cure 'the evil' by his touch.

*Seventh son's healing power.*—A belief in this is common amongst our semi-Scotch population. The series of seven sons must not be interrupted by a daughter. A particular ceremony ought to be observed at the moment of the infant's birth in order to give him the healing power. The woman who receives him into her arms places in his tiny hand whatever substance she chooses for him to rub with in after life, and she is very careful not to let him touch anything else first. For example, if silver is to be the rubbing substance, a threepenny piece will be provided in advance.<sup>1</sup> The seventh son does not take fees in the form of money, but tea, sugar, and tobacco are always welcomed. One of our labourers, meeting me, said,—“My woman's leg is very bad the day. I maun get Tam Ross to go and see her. He's the seventh son o' a seventh son, an' its allowed that his hand is a cure.”

*Erysipelas cure.*—Paddy M'Carron was a man who had the talent of curing “the rose” (*i.e.* erysipelas). He had been an industrious day labourer as long as his health and strength lasted, and afterwards my brother gave him a cottage in the village and my mother and I fed and looked after him. Paddy told me that he used to go to the Bog at the full of the moon and fill a bottle with bog water in the name of the blessed Trinity. “Then, Miss, them that wants the cure will come to me, an' I'll rub them for the rose three times after sunset and three times before sunrise.” “Do many people come to you, Paddy?” “They do, Miss.” “Who gave you the power to cure, Paddy?” “It was a woman gave it to me when I was a wee chiel. A man can gie it to a woman, an' a woman can gie it to a man. I could gie it to you, dear, an' sure I will, if you like.” “No, Paddy, thank you kindly; but I am glad that you have it.” “I'm like a doctor, Miss, but without a doctor's pay.” “Surely they pay something?” “They'll

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 136.



gie me a whean o' tay an' sugar, dear miss, and tobacco." On another day I said to him,—“I'm told you have cured Bill M'Loughlan, Paddy. I hope he gave you something?” “He did not, miss; whiles they'll gie, an' whiles they'll forget.”

*Indigestion charm.*—When Bell Bradley came into a cottage where I was visiting she exclaimed,—“Miss, dear, you're very ill like, the day. What is it ails you?” “I am not very well, Bell.” “That's heart fever. If you let me, dear, I'll measure you round the waist wi' a green thread in the name o' the Trinity; an' I'd allow you to eat three dandelion leaves on a piece o' bread an' butter. Eat them fasting, the first thing for three mornings, an' get better o' the fever.”<sup>2</sup>

*Mumps cure.*—I was surprised to see a little boy with a swollen face leading a girl with a straw rope fastened round her head, until they came to the banks of a little stream. I then saw the girl kneel down and dip her face three times in the water. She got up and, taking off the rope, put it upon her brother. Thereupon the ceremony was repeated, with the girl this time leading. After the boy had dipped his face three times, I produced two apples, and asked for an explanation. A woman who came up to us said,—“It's a cure for the mumps, ma'am. A boy puts the branks on a girl an' takes her to the water to drink, an' the girl puts the branks on him, an' it's a cure.” “The branks?” “Sure that's the harness that goes on over the horse's head. An' it's allowed to be a gran' cure for the mumps”<sup>3</sup> (March, 1912).

*Wart charms.*—A Donegal man told me the following:—“Get ten straws. Tie a knot on ilka ane o' them, an' throw the tenth away after you ha' rubbed the warts wi' nine o' the straws. Then you'll put them in a clean white paper an' throw it on the road, an' the one that lifts the paper to see what's in it 'll get your warts.”

“A neighbour o' mine, Miss M'Clintock, has a better cure. He'll gie ye a folded paper, an' he'll allow ye to bury it; an' when that paper decays yer warts 'll be gane.”

<sup>2</sup> Dandelion leaves are called heart fever grass in Donegal. Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a similar account from Letterkenny, in Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

"But there's a better cure. Touch the wart wi' nine pins, an' then throw the pins away in the graveyard." (Cf. *Stye charm* below.)

Mrs. Gorman, a Donegal farmer's wife, gave me the following charms. I had shown her a wart upon my finger. "That's an unsignified thing," she said. "My wee girl had warts on all her fingers, an' I got a cure. If you dip your hand in water that you come on *unexpected* in a hole in a rock, it's a cure. But you mustna be looking for it; the charm is to find the water *unexpected*." "Was your child cured?" "She was, Miss. Every time she went by that rock she dipped her hand, an' in a wee while the warts was gone." "Is there another cure?" "There is. Our man had them all over his hands, so he asked a very knowledgeable woman what he'd do. Says she,—“Cut a raw potato in slices,—ten slices,—an' rub them on the warts; an' get nine knots of corn an' rub wi' them, an' soon the warts 'll be gane clean awa'. Then roll the potato an' the corn careful in a paper, an' throw it where it'll be found easy, an' them that lifts it 'll get your warts.”

*Rheumatism and wart charms and cures.*—Mrs. Gorman continued,—“There's a way to cure the pains as weel's the warts. My father died. He was bad wi' rheumatism all his days. A neighbour came in, an' says she,—“Mrs. Gorman, will you be pleased to lift your father's hand, an' rub it on this sore arm o' mine? I dinna like to do it mysel'.” She rolled up her sleeve, an' there was a big lump on her arm. She said,—“Take my pains wi' you, Mick, for the love of God.” She followed the funeral to the grave, an' she said again,—“Take my pains wi' you, Mick, for the love of God,” an', troth an' faix, she was cured o' her pains.”<sup>4</sup> “But that's a cruel cure, Mrs. Gorman. Surely your father left the pains behind him. He was a kind man. He would not have liked another to inherit his pain; and neither would your husband like another to pick up the paper with the potato and corn, and fall heir to his warts. Those cures sound very cruel.” But Mrs. Gorman did not understand me in the least. “God bless your innocent wit, dear,” she said, half-contemptuously. “But here's a cure I'll gie you.” And she produced a penny from her pocket. “Take it. I'll buy that wart on your finger. It will come to me

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (Donegal).

and trouble you nae mair, but bury the penny deep, an' dinna let on where you put it."

An old woman told me that her grandmother, who was bent double with rheumatic pains, was visited by a still more ancient crone, a "poor traveller looking for her bit" [*i.e.* a beggar]. "You are ill afflicted, poor crathur," said she, "but there's cures to be got, an' if you'll be said by me you'll get frogs' spawn out o' the dykes, an' ye'll put it in a crock, an' a slate on the top of it, an' bury it in the garden. At the end o' three months lift the crock, an' rub the pains wi' what ye'll find in it." "What did she find in it?" "The finest water, Miss. I heerd my grandmother sayin' that they persevered rubbing wi' the water till the bent old woman was as souple as you or me. Aye, it's allowed that the frogs' spawn is a gran' cure for the pains."<sup>5</sup>

*Stye charm.*—The Donegal man who gave me the wart charms added,—“Did you ever have a stye on your eye, Miss? The nine pins can cure it. Just point a pin at your sore eye nine times. You needna be touching with the pin,—but do as I bid you,—point nine times, an' then throw the pin into the graveyard.”<sup>6</sup>

*Toothache charms.*—The following gruesome charm horrified an English tourist who was lingering in a country churchyard during a funeral. Amongst the mourners was a young man with a swollen cheek and looking extremely dejected. Presently the supposed mourner took up a skull lying upon a heap of dry mould and crumbled bones thrown up in digging the grave. He raised the skull to his lips, and with his own teeth extracted from it a tooth. He then threw the skull carelessly away, and wrapped the tooth in paper and put it into his pocket. Many eyes were fixed upon the young man, but no face expressed the least surprise.

“Can you tell me why he did that?” asked the Englishman of an old man who had stood next him during the ceremony.

“Surely, sir. Thon poor boy was very bad wi' the toothache, an' it's allowed to be a cure if you draw a tooth from a skull wi' yer ain teeth. He'll sew thon tooth in his clothes, an' wear it as long as he lives.”

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 173, (Donegal, a gooseberry thorn being pointed at the stye nine times).

"Will this dreadful cure do him any good?"

"Like enough, sir," said the old man, showing where a tooth was sewed in the lining of his waistcoat. "It's five year since I pulled that ane the same way, an' never a touch o' the toothache had I since."<sup>7</sup>

Next day the same tourist passed a tidy housemaid on the staircase in his hotel, and in greeting her remarked that she wore a pretty ring. "It was bestowed on me, sir," she replied, but without the blush that would have accompanied the confession of a sweetheart's gift, and added,— "I wear it for the toothache, sir."<sup>8</sup> To wear a ring that has been presented is a charm against toothache, and certainly a pleasanter cure than to swallow nine hairs pulled out of a black cat's tail,—the charm most strongly recommended in some parts of Donegal.

"Go to the schoolmaster, and ask him to cure you. He will give you a paper carefully folded up, directing you not to read what is written therein, and saying that, if you disobey, the cure will not do you any good."<sup>9</sup>

Another cure for this most common of earthly ills is not to shave on Sunday. Shave instead upon Saturday, and you will never again have toothache. "Is that a certain cure?" I asked my informant. "It is, Miss M'Clintock. My son James did it, an' he never had a taste o' the toothache after he stopped shaving on the Sabbath."

*Whooping-cough charms.*—One of the charms most highly recommended by wise women is to procure a lock of hair from the head of a posthumous child. Some years ago every child in my neighbourhood was coughing terribly. "How is Sandy to-day?" I asked. "Bad enough, miss. But he'll be better to-morrow, for we ha' got a wee lock o' hair frae Donnel Teague." "A lock of hair! What will you do with that?" "The weans 'll wear it, miss, an' they'll soon be better." Much puzzled, I persisted,— "But why Donnel Teague's hair more than any other man's hair?" "Because Donnel's a boy that never seen his father, an' it's allowed

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 98 (Scotland and North Hants); W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 173 (Donegal).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

that the hair o' a body that never seen his father is gude to cure the chincough."

"Get a lock of hair frae the head o' a wean that never saw its father, an' there'll be a cure." "What a strange cure! Must the child swallow the lock of hair?" "God bless your innocent wit, dear. Surely no! The cure is to keep the hair weel rolled up, an' hidden in the house."

In some districts the child is passed nine times under a donkey.<sup>10</sup>

In the neighbourhood of Letterkenny, the mother takes the sick child out on a summer evening "where the beetle wheels his droning flight," in the hope that the beetle will fly against her and be caught. Neither mother nor child must seek for him, as the charm is useless unless the insect is caught by accident. The beetle is carried home and corked up in a bottle, and with his life the whooping-cough in the house will expire.<sup>11</sup>

Another cure is to send the child out to meet a piebald horse. If he meets one, he must stop the rider, saying,—“You man on the piebald horse, gie me a cure for the chincough.” To which the rider must reply,—“A kiss from my lips; a penny from my purse; a kepper [slice of bread and butter] from my hand.” One of these three things is chosen, and the child is expected to return home cured.<sup>12</sup>

LETITIA M'CLINTOCK.<sup>13</sup>

Dunmore, Carrigans, Londonderry.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, 118.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>13</sup> [The passages in *Folk-Medicine* (1883) cited in notes 1-6, 8, and 11 appear to be based by Black mainly on the second of two articles on “Fairy Superstitions in Donegal” appearing in the *University Magazine* for July and August, 1879. This article is signed by Miss M'Clintock, and it is interesting to compare the particulars given in 1879 with those supplied independently in 1912.—ED.]

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### LIBRARY OF FOLK-LORE SOCIETY: REGULATIONS FOR USE.

(*Supra*, p. 224.)

I am directed by the Council to communicate, for the information of members, the regulations for the use of the Library which have been adopted :

1. Any member of the Society may at any time borrow any number not exceeding ten books or pamphlets from the Library on applying either in person or by post to the Hon. Librarian (Mr. R. W. Chambers, University College, Gower Street, W.C.), the expenses of postage or carriage (if any) being borne and paid by the borrower.

2. Each borrower shall sign a receipt in the form prescribed for every book or pamphlet borrowed by him or her, and such receipt shall be cancelled on the book or pamphlet being returned to the Library, and when cancelled shall be given or sent to the borrower.

3. Each borrower shall be responsible to the Society for all books and pamphlets borrowed by him or her until the same are returned to the Library.

4. In case any book or pamphlet which has been borrowed is required by any other member of the Society, the borrower shall return the same to the Library within 14 days of being requested by the Hon. Librarian so to do.

5. The Library shall be closed from the 1st to the 15th April in every year for the purpose of stocktaking; and all books and pamphlets which have been borrowed by members must accordingly be returned to the Library not later than the 31st March.

6. The Reference Library of University College is open to members of the Society for consultation between the hours of 9 and 5.

F. A. MILNE, *Secretary*.

## THE OAK AND THE THUNDER-GOD.

In the third edition of his *Golden Bough*, chap. xx., Dr. Frazer has inserted an interesting discussion of the relation of the worship of the Oak to that of the Aryan god of the sky, thunder, and lightning: a subject which has also been treated at length by Mr. A. B. Cook in *Folk-Lore*, vols. xv. and xvi., and in the *Classical Review*, vols. xvii. and xviii. It is now certain that the oak is of all trees the one most held in reverence by Aryan peoples, and also certain that almost all these peoples identified the Oak-god with the Sky-god who sends the lightning. The difficulty is to explain the connection or identification, and to determine whether tree or lightning came first in religious importance. Dr. Frazer's explanation at the end of his chapter is somewhat fanciful; but he was not, when he offered it, acquainted with the fact I propose as a solution. He has privately informed me that he thinks my explanation may prove to be the right one. I came upon it quite by accident.

As the years 1910 and 1912 have been prolific of thunderstorms, I have for some time been amusing myself in the country by examining the effects of lightning on various species of tree. I was met by some rather puzzling facts; in particular, I could find no beech that had been struck, and I was told that beeches are immune. Wishing to know the truth of this, I consulted books on forestry, and at last, by the kindness of Mr. H. T. Gadney, I was supplied with the fourth volume of a great work on this subject, by Dr. Schlich, of which the fourth volume was contributed by Prof. Hess of Giessen. In this fourth volume I found what I wanted, and more; for the evidence of sixteen years' recorded investigation in the large forest of Lippe-Detmold, where the percentage of each species in the forest was known, shows not only that the beech is rarely struck, but that the oak is far more often a victim than any other tree.<sup>1</sup> On p. 662 will be found a table in which it appears

<sup>1</sup>[The popular belief that beech is never struck by lightning is mentioned in *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., vol. vi. (1852), p. 129, and 3rd S., vol. v. (1864), p. 97, and in 1st S., vol. x. (1854), p. 513, is given, second-hand, a statement from *The Mechanics' Magazine*, (April 10th, 1847, p. 359, *verified*), that the beech is obnoxious to lightning, but the oak amongst the trees which attract it most. The preference of lightning for the oak is mentioned in 5th S., vol. ii.

that, if the danger to a beech is taken as 1, that to a spruce fir is 6, to a Scotch fir 37, and to an oak 60. The reason for this is not quite clear, but attempts have been made to explain it which do not now concern us. The fact is sufficient, and the fact is supported by evidence both from France and from Bavaria.

Thus we may safely infer that in ancient times more oaks were struck than other trees, and I may add from my own experience that, when struck, oaks are more conspicuous, turning brown quickly and soon dying outright: they are also more liable to be smashed into fragments. Now, if we remember that an object struck by lightning was an object of awe and reverence in ancient Greece and Italy, and presumably elsewhere, we have the solution of the connection of the oak with the thunder-god; and, further, it seems now probable that the worship of the Sky-god was prior to that of the Oak; Dr. Frazer had decided this question in the opposite way, but admits that the evidence I have adduced must modify his conviction. How the Sky-god was thought of as affecting the stricken oak I will leave it to others to conjecture.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

#### CARMARTHENSHIRE JAUNDICE CURE.

When I was a boy in West Carmarthenshire there was one cure for jaundice which was universally recognised as infallible. The remedy was a very simple one. The patient came to the house of the "jaundice curer" for treatment. Three small pieces of any cheese were cut on a plate, and each piece divided in the middle into two tiny slices. The 'doctor' in the presence of the patient took an ordinary pen and ink, and, selecting one piece of cheese, wrote on it the word 'pater.' This piece was then covered by its fellow, and handed to the patient, who ate it. Then the doctor proceeded to write on a second piece of cheese the word 'filius,' covered it, and gave it to the patient. Finally he took the third portion and wrote 'Spiritus Amen' on it, and the patient ate it.

(1874), p. 426, and in 8th S., vol. v. (1894), p. 236, is quoted, from an unnamed source, "In the forests of Lippe, from 1879 to 1885, and in 1890, there were 159 oaks, 59 pines, 21 beeches, and 21 other kinds of trees struck."—ED.]



This is all. Everything *must* be done in the presence of the patient and his friends, but on no account are they to see or know what was written. This is a secret known only to the curer and one deputy. He is not at liberty to tell the secret words to more than one, or the power is gone for ever. Half a crown was the fee understood as necessary to successful cure, but the doctor was not allowed to ask for a fee. Sometimes, however, I have known a patient to give ten shillings. The above I can vouch for as absolutely correct, for I was a deputy 'doctor' myself once upon a time. My father was the deputy of a very old respectable dame in our neighbourhood, and she was very popular and much sought after. On her death my father held the secret, and one can hardly credit the number of patients who came to him. He made me his deputy, and, as he was not enthusiastic about the 'work,' he used to let me do it.

The most remarkable thing is that not only had we cures, but I only remember one case of failure. Generally the patients were better immediately. I remember one day a carriage arrived at our cottage door, and a gentleman farmer,—a J.P.,—brought his daughter to be treated, after being under medical treatment for a long time. He was desperate, evidently. She brought her own cheese, and I did the rest. I think I received five shillings for it, and they went away. Next morning he came back and swore at me like anything. He said I had the devil in me, for his daughter had been quite cured.

The cures puzzle me still, but, now that I have told others the secret, it has of course lost all its virtue, and it would be unfair to experiment with it on any of the present generation.

THOMAS LEWIS.

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COTSWOLD PLACE-LORE AND CUSTOMS.

(*Supra*, pp. 332-42.)

May I be allowed space for a few observations on Miss Partridge's excellent paper in the last number of *Folk-Lore*? She says,—“There was a healing well on the lower slope of Kingsdown, Bristol, in the Barton, outside the old city walls” (p. 335).

The well referred to appears to be that known as Mother Pugsley's Well. It is referred to in the following extract from "H. and R. Smith's MSS.," given by Messrs. Nicholls and Taylor in *Bristol Past and Present* (Bristol, Arrowsmith, 1882, vol. iii., p. 152):—

"Mrs. Pugsley died August 4th, 1700, aged eighty. Her funeral was according to her directions, and was 'punctually performed to the admiration and in the view of ten thousand spectators.' Her body was borne uncoffined on a litter, with a sheet for shroud, preceded by a fiddler playing a sprightly air, and two damsels strewing sweet herbs and flowers, while the bells of St. Nicholas church rung a merry peal. Thus it was carried to a grave in a field adjoining Nine-tree hill. Dame Pugsley was supposed to be the widow of a young soldier killed at the siege of Bristol, 1645, and buried with military honours on Nine-tree hill. His widow wore mourning all her life, and desired to be borne to her grave with demonstrations of joy at their happy reunion." Here I interrupt the quotation to say that the tradition current at Bristol during my boyhood was that she was married by torchlight at the Cathedral, that the bridegroom was hurried away immediately after the ceremony to the defence of his post, and was killed before morning during the attack on the city in the hottest of the fighting, which took place at the angle of the fortifications about what is now Nine-tree Hill and Fremantle Square, but then known as Prior's Hill Fort. The quotation proceeds: "Mother Pugsley's well is within recent memory. It consisted of two stone basins, one of which contained 'an infallible remedy for the eyes,' whilst the other was especially renowned for making tea. She built a hut over the spot where her husband fell and was buried, which gave her name to the field and well. At her death she bequeathed money for a sixpenny loaf and a ninepenny loaf at Easter, and a twopenny loaf on Twelfth-day, to each of the sixteen women inhabiting St. Nicholas' almshouse. The vulgar supposed her to have been a witch, and they trampled upon her grave. A skull, thought to have been her husband's, was dug up; it had a bullet hole just above the temple." The neighbourhood was laid out for building in 1835, and a house was erected over the well; and I presume it still stands. But within my recollection

the virtues of the well were still celebrated, and were attributed to the maiden-widow's tears.

Miss Partridge refers (p. 337) to the church-removal traditions at Bisley, Minchinhampton, and Churchdown. With regard to Churchdown it may be noted that the top of the hill was a pre-historic settlement. It was defended by a rampart, strengthened during the siege of Gloucester by Charles I., and still in existence. The old parish church stands on one corner of the rampart. It contains, (though the present structure as a whole is of much later date), remains of a previous Norman and even an Anglo-Saxon edifice. The population did not desert the summit until the eleventh or twelfth century; but it was settled as now on the northern slope prior to the death of Thomas à Becket. At that period the inhabitants were put to straits for want of water, and Archbishop Roger of York, to whose see the place belonged, arranged to lay pipes from the shallow well just below the top to convey a supply to the present village. In the course of the excavations the earth fell in and buried one workman, who was only saved by calling upon the new "martyr." The story is duly recorded by the monastic miracle-mongers, and is said to have been attested by a letter from Godfrey, Dean of Gloucester, to the Prior of Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> The story of removal of the church cannot be much earlier than this; more probably it is later. It has doubtless arisen from forgetfulness of the fact that the village was originally situated on the top of the hill.

The case of Bisley is more interesting still. According to tradition it was to have been built on a spot nearly two miles away. In restoring the church many years ago the origin of the story was discovered. "For the place where tradition said the church was to have been built is the spot where a Roman villa formerly stood, and in the course of the repairs portions of the materials of that villa were found in the church walls, including the altars of the Penates removed from the Roman shrines."<sup>2</sup> I do not know the origin of the tradition about the church of

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Abbott, *St. Thomas of Canterbury his death and miracles* (London, 1898), vol. ii., p. 221-31.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. v. (1880-1), p. 7.

Minchinhampton; but I would urge that an effort should be made to discover it. It is probable that a little enquiry would establish in this and many other cases the basis of the story. The student of folklore should not be satisfied with the mere record of such a tradition. To discover its origin would very often be to throw light upon the working of the mythopoeic propensity of the human mind.

Lastly, I venture to question whether it is probable, as Miss Partridge suggests, that the form *Denaway*, meaning Danes' Way, really preserves the O.E. genitive plural (p. 340 n). The etymology is, of course, tempting. But in the dialect of Gloucestershire the termination *-way* in names often assumes the form *-away* where it is not thus explainable. For instance, Greenway becomes Greenaway, Blakeway becomes Blakaway, and so on. Denaway may, therefore, only be the dialectal form of Daneway.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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MODERN FOLKLORE TO EXPLAIN STRUCTURES OF FORGOTTEN  
ORIGIN.

(Vol. xx., p. 218.)

In the Presidential Address for 1912 Mr. Crooke remarked (*supra*, p. 17) on the extreme vitality of the lore of the folk, and in no way does this appear more vividly than in the creation of fresh explanations of structures when their real origin has been forgotten. This may be illustrated by the following fresh example. An obelisk near Watford formerly served to mark the boundary within which the City of London coal dues were levied. It is close to the river Colne and on the Watford side of the London and North-Western (Main Line) Railway Bridge across the river. It is about eighteen feet high, and has no inscription except *Domine dirige nos* on the City arms cut on the side away from the river. Although the real purpose of the obelisk has been explained in the local newspaper, and is now known to many, the proximity of the structure to the Colne has induced others to associate it with some drowning fatality, and during the past

twenty years I have repeatedly heard people say that it was erected in memory of children drowned near the bridge.

T. E. LONES.

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MODERN GREEK FOLK-TALES AND ANCIENT GREEK  
MYTHOLOGY.

In no department of folklore has a pragmatistical method done more to obscure issues and render the facts difficult to ascertain than in the study of modern Greek folklore. It is natural, of course, that investigators should start with a strong desire to find relics of classical survival: the consequent temptation to make of even minor similarities birthmarks of heredity has proved strong indeed. The better acquainted I become with the data of Comparative Folklore and with modern Greek folklore, the more sceptical I find myself with regard to alleged cases of survival in the latter from classical antiquity; and the careless way in which assertions of survival are thrown out makes it all the more difficult to distinguish those very interesting, though to my mind very few, cases where the claim seems to be genuine and credible. It is not my purpose, however, to discourse on the general question, but to protest against certain specific assertions of survival in modern Greek folk-tales which have naturally been taken in good faith as sound data to work with by students of Comparative Folklore who have paid no special attention to the modern Greek material.

One of the latest victims is M. van Gennep. In his very interesting little book, *La Formation des Légendes*, he quotes as cases of survival the stories of *The Carpenter, the Tailor, and the Man of God*, and the notorious Demeter tale published by Lenormant.<sup>1</sup> Now, in the first place, I confess that I am a sceptic as to the existence in modern Greek folk-tales of any survivals at all in the direct line from classical antiquity. After spending some considerable time and trouble in acquainting myself with the main types of modern Greek folk-story, I do not know of a single instance of indubitable survival from classical mythology. The incidents or types which are common to both are common also to

<sup>1</sup> A. van Gennep, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

all folk literature,—themes like the Polyphemos story or the Legend of Perseus. With regard to the two oft-repeated typical examples, the one is not confined in its distribution even to the Mediterranean basin, while on the authenticity of the other grave doubts must be cast.

For the first, the story of *The Carpenter, the Tailor, and the Man of God*<sup>2</sup> is said to be a survival of the tale of *Pygmalion*. Pygmalion made a statue and fell in love with it; the Goddess of Love in pity granted his prayer and gave the statue life, and it became the hero's bride. In the folk-tale, under quite different circumstances, a carpenter makes a statue, a tailor makes it clothes, and the prayer of a Man of God gives it life, and all three wish to marry the girl. The *dénouement* varies according to the setting of the story. When it appears as a sub-story in the tale of *The Silent Princess* it concludes of course with an unsolved query. When the story is an independent tale, the problem is referred to a judge. He also wants to marry her, and alleges that she is his lost wife, and, while the parties are disputing, the maiden vanishes back into a tree, the form from which she was created.

It will be seen even from so short a summary that the resemblance to the story of Pygmalion is slight. It is restricted in reality to the facts,—(1) that a statue comes to life; and (2) that its maker or makers fall in love with it; and, as regards (2), it should be noted that in the classical story the statue comes to life *because* of its maker's love. The whole characterisation and moral of the two stories is totally different.

Further, if it is a survival from the story of Pygmalion, it is curious that an ancient Greek story should survive in exactly the same form in the Far as well as in the Near East.<sup>3</sup> Turkish,

<sup>2</sup>Greek versions will be found in Pio, *Νεοελληνικά Παράμυθια*, p. 93 (Astypalaea), translated in Geldart, *Modern Greek Folk Lore*, p. 106; Pio, *op. cit.*, p. 231 (Old Syra), translated in Garnett and Stuart-Glennie, *Greek Folk Poesy*, vol. ii., p. 138; Paton, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xii., p. 317 (Budrum). A version from a Greekophone village in the Taurus will be published in Mr. Dawkins' forthcoming book on the modern Greeks of Cappadocia.

<sup>3</sup>Georgian in M. Wardrop, *Georgian Folk Tales*, p. 106; Turkish in Kúnöz, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, p. 45; Oriental in Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, pp. 130-1; and Benfey, *Panchatantra*, vol. i., pp. 489-493.

Georgian, and Oriental versions are neither more nor less like the classical story than the modern Greek versions.

The other 'typical survival' may be found by English readers in Mr. Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Lawson of course accepts its validity. Its claim would certainly be stronger if it were possible to accept his general account of the survivals of Demeter in Modern Greece. That account, however, which it is not possible for me to criticise in detail here, is vitiated by an acknowledged disregard of the study of Comparative Folklore, which would have saved the author many misapprehensions and one or two mistakes.

But on their own merits both the story and its collector are open to the gravest suspicions. The only doubt in my own mind is whether Lenormant or his informant is responsible for the fabrication. The French *savant* did not bear the highest reputation for scrupulous accuracy. But, even if S. Demetra was in the story when it was told to him, it still remains suspicious. A striking proof of its authenticity to the uninitiated is the fact that it was collected at Eleusis. But those who have travelled in Modern Greece are aware that Eleusis, like the rest of Attika, is inhabited by an Albanian population. A few miles from Eleusis the peasants are all bilingual, and habitually talk Albanian among themselves; I have been in some villages where some of the women spoke Albanian only. That is one of the reasons why the common speech of Attika is 'purer' (*i.e.* more like ancient Greek) than in some parts of Greece. There has been no mother dialect to compete with the language taught in the schools. If Lenormant received the story as he has given it to us, I have very little doubt that the classical allusions were inserted by the narrator, who was anxious to assert his birthright of Ancient Greek tradition. No one who is familiar with modern Greeks can doubt the ease or eagerness with which this would have been attempted. In collecting dialect or folklore material the student's greatest

<sup>4</sup>J. C. Lawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-4. Mr. Lawson admits the Albanian source of the story, but underestimates, in my opinion, the significance of that fact. The story was published by Lenormant in his *Monographie de la voie sacrée Éleusinienne*; an English translation is to be found in Garrett and Stuart-Glennie, *Greek Folk Poetry*, vol. ii., pp. 171-6.

obstacle is the desire to substitute fictitious heritages from antiquity learned in the schools for the despised facts.

Further, the folk-tale itself looks suspiciously as if the classical parts had been added by design. The main incidents belong quite obviously to a favourite story in Greece<sup>5</sup> and the Nearer East,<sup>6</sup> which I am tempted to believe is its original home. The only versions known to me of Western European tales connected with it are very broken down and altered, as if they had reached the limit of their diffusion. You have then a perfectly familiar type of folk-tale which has nothing to do with antiquity. In this sole example, alleged to have been collected at Eleusis, from an Albanian priest, S. Demetra is inserted rather to the detriment of the plot of the story. Further, we know that both informants and collectors are more than eager to establish connections with classical antiquity. It seems to me difficult for the impartial not to be sceptical.

There is one other folk-tale which perhaps deserves mention, viz., Hahn, No. 76, *Dionysos*. The collector, though not von Hahn himself, is unimpeachable. On the other hand, the story was collected in Boiotia, another Albanian district, and has, so far as I know, no kind of parallel from other collections of Greek folk-tales; and it should be remembered that, thanks to the patriotic labours of Greeks and the zeal of philologists, the harvest of modern Greek folk-tales published in the vernacular is very large indeed. I feel about this story that, if it were an archaeological object, I should reject it as unguine, and should be surprised if an accredited collector bought it. But I do not know that my suspicions are susceptible of proof.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 52 (N. Eubolia); Παπρασός, X., p. 517 (Thera); Legrand, *Contes Populaires Grecs*, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> Turkish in Kúnoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 128 [translated Bain, *Turkish Fairy and Folk-Tales*, p. 114]; Magyar in Jones and Kropf, *The Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, p. 39; Albanian in Dozon, *Contes Albanaises*, No. 15; Georgian in Wardrop, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Serbian in Mijetovitch, *Serbian Folk-Lore*, p. 139; Russian in Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 85; Bulgarian gypsy in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. iii., p. 184; Moravian gypsy, F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, No. 43.



SCORING A WITCH ABOVE THE BREATH.<sup>1</sup>

The following instance, about 1820, of "scoring a witch above her breath" to break her spells, was told to me in November, 1911, by Mrs. F. M'Connel, of Blackyett, on the Kirtle, near Ecclefechan, now in her eighty-seventh year. She heard the story from the minister of Middlebie, who was son of the minister of Annan, and grandson of Mr. Monilaws, the minister in the story,— "three generations of parish ministers, gentlemen all of them, of the old school." "About a quarter of a mile from the parish church of Kirkpatrick Fleming there is the bridge of Bettermont over the river Kirtle; on the one side of the bridge is a mill, and on the other a cottage. In the cottage the old woman who was not thought canny lived. One night the minister of the parish, Mr. Monilaws, got a message in hot haste that something dreadful had happened at Bettermont. He and his son, a youth of age to go to college, went and found that the miller's pigs had all been drowned in the mill stream, and the miller believed the old woman had bewitched them. So he had *disinfected* her according to the habit of the time. He had slit the skin of her forehead across, and let it hang down over her eyes. Mr. Monilaws and his son sewed it up for her. Mr. Monilaws' grandson, a personal friend of mine, was my informant."

M. M. BANKS.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CURES AND CHARMS.

(*Supra*, pp. 230-6.)

The following extracts from pages 16-31 of John Durant's pamphlet of 1697 complete the account begun in the June number of *Folk-Lore*, certain remedies and disorders being, as before, omitted, and spelling, misprints, and punctuation exactly followed.

"*For Curing Wens, Tumour, or Swelling, or any Rising in the Flesh, or Warts.*

Take hot *Asmart*, called also *Peachwort*, *Water Pepper*, it hath

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ellis's Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (ed. 1855), vol. iii., p. 16, for an instance near Edinburgh in 1831.

no black spots as the Cold hath, it being a Weed of *Mars*, let it be gathered as directed, and put in cold Water, being well moistened, take it out and lay it to the place Defective, and let it lie on it till the *Asmart* be hot, then take it and Bury it in the Ground above two Foot deep, and as that doth rot or consume, so will the *Wen* or any of the other sink or grow less and less, till it be quite gone ; for that which hath been long, do it twice.

*Vervaine.*

*Vervaine* an *Herb* of *Venus*, being gathered as directed, and bruised and hung about the Neck, helps the *Head-ach*,<sup>1</sup> the Distill'd Water of it, so gathered, droped into the *Eyes*, cleanseth them from all *Mists*, *Films*, *Clouds* that hinders the Sight, and wonderfully Strengtheneth the *Optick Nerves* ; the Leaves in *Syrrop* or *Decoction*, helpeth all inward Pains and *Lungs*, *Kidneys*, *Stone* or *Wounds*, healeth *Ulcers*, *Gangreens* or *Fistula's*, in any part of the Body.

*Wild Carrot Seeds.*

Being under *Mercury* and taken in Wine, or Boyled in Wine, removes *Stiches* in the Sides . . . and helpeth to break and expel the *Stone* ; for the *Dropsie*, and those whose Bellies are Swollen with Wine, helpeth *Collick*, the *Stone* in the *Kidneys*, . . . ; the Leaves applyed with *Honey* to Running Sores or *Ulcers*, it Cleanses them, and Heals them in a short time.<sup>2</sup>

*Hop Seeds.*

Take half a Dram of it in Powder in a little Drink, killeth the Worms in the Body . . .

*Columbine.*

Being under *Venus*, a Dram of the said *Seeds* taken in Wine with a little *Saffron*, openeth Obstructions of the *Liver*, and is good for the *Yellow Jaundice*, if the party after the taking thereof be laid to Sweat well in the Bed . . .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Blagrove's Supplement, or Enlargement to Mr. Nich. Culpepper's English Physitian* (1674), pp. 24-5.

*Cinke-foyle, or five Leav'd Grass.*

Being gathered as directed is the best that grows, being an Herb of *Jupiter*, for curing of all kinds of *Agues*, be it what *Ague* soever, being boyled in white Wine, or white Wine Vinegar, being strained out, and the Wine drunk as hot as sufferabe two or three houres before the Fit, as Doctor Culpepper saith, *he never knew it fail*: I have had tryal of it above 12 years, I never knew it fail but it produced the desired effects at three times taking at most, by those that have had the *Quartane* above a year, there is no Doctor can prescribe any better remedy for *Agues*, the directions rightly observed, for every day, or every other days *Ague*, once or twice taking hath had it away, some have taken it in strong Beer, Ale, Sider or Metheglim, it hath done the like; It cures the *Gout* in any part, and *Sciatica*, being boyled in red Wine and drank, it stops all *Fluxes* of Blood, and *Red* or *White*.<sup>3</sup>

*Henbane.*

A Weed of *Saturn*, the root taken up as directed and dried to powder, touch but the tooth that aketh with the powder, and it will fall out; the root taken up as aforesaid and dried, and a Necklace made thereof and put round the neck of a Child that breedeth teeth, they cut the Gums and breed them without pain, they are to be hung a bout the neck as Bracelets are.

*Celandine.*

Gather this herb as directed and when the Sun is in *Leo* in *Trine* to the Moon, and make an Oyntment of it with Hogs Lard, and anoynt your Eye-lids when you go to Bed, and in so doing it will take a way any *Skins* or *Films* that shall grow over the sight of the Eye; or else take *Celandine*, *field-Daises*, and *ground Ivy*, clarified, and a little fine Shugar dissolved therein, and droped into the Eye, is a soveraign remedy for Watering of them, for Paines, Redness; and also for the *Pin*, *Web*, *Skins*, and *Films* growing over tht sight, it helpeth Beasts as well as Men; the Juice dropped into the Ears doth wonderfully help the Noise and Singing in them, and hearing which is decayed.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, p. 137 (ed. 1857).

*Lavender Cotten.*

Being an Herb under *Mercury*, and gathered as directed, resisteth *Poison*, Putrifaction, and helps the Bitings of *Venomus Beasts*; a Dram of the Powder of the dryed Leaves taken every morning fasting in any convenient Vehicle, . . . ; the Seed beaten into Powder and taken as *Wormseed*, it kills the *Worms*, not only in Children, but also in People of Riper years, the Herb it self being boyled in Milk and the Milk drunk, the body bathed with it cures the Itch; the Decoction of it helps *Scabs* and *Itch*.

*Ground Ivy.*

Being an Herb of *Venus*, and gathered as directed, and a Decoction made of it and drunk in Wine for some time together, procureth ease unto them that are troubled with the *Sciatica* or *Hip Gout*; as also the *Gout* in the *Hands*, *Knees* or *Feet*: If you put to the Decoction some Honey, and a little burnt Allum, it is excellent good to *Gargle* any Sore Mouth or Throat . . . ; it speedily helpeth green Wounds, being bruised and bound thereunto; the Juyce of it boyled with a little Honey and Verdegreece doth wonderfully cleanse *Fistulaes*, and *Ulcers*; and strengthens the Spreading or Eating of *Cancers* or *Ulcers*.

*Peletory of the Wall.*

An Herb of *Jupitir*, as directed, and made into a Syrup, or the Juice Clarified, is an excellent remedy for the *Stone*, and *Gravel*, to cleanse and heal the *Kidneys*, and *Bladder* . . . ; for Cleansing, boyle it in white Wine, for dissolving, make it in Syrrups to cleanse in white Wine."

Pages 20-4 contain particulars how to judge of diseases etc. from urines, and then follows a Table "To Judge the Danger of falling Sick by the Age of the Moon." As this differs from the prognostications quoted from Cockayne's *Saxon Leechdoms* (vol. iii., p. 183) in Black's *Folk-Medicine* (p. 125), it is reproduced :

- |   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| <p>"1. He that falleth Sick on the first day<br/>of the Moon shall Dye, if the<br/>Sickness be very Fierce and Tedious.</p> | } | D. |
| <p>2. Altho' he be sore Sick, yet he shall be cured.</p>  |   | R. |
| <p>3. He may with due regard in Physick be recover'd.</p>   |   | R. |

- |   |      |
|---|------|
| 4. <i>Shall very soon be restored.</i>                | R.   |
| 5. <i>Promiseth his cure after ten days.</i>          | R.   |
| 6. <i>No danger, but speedy Health.</i>               | R.   |
| 7. <i>Injoy Life but three Months.</i>                | D.   |
| 8. <i>Languish a long time.</i>                       | L.S. |
| 9. <i>Recover Health after Nine Days.</i>             | R.   |
| 10. <i>Recover after Ten Days.</i>                    | R.   |
| 11. <i>Very long Sick, yet recover Health.</i>        | L.R. |
| 12. <i>Amend after Twelve Days.</i>                   | R.   |
| 13. <i>A long and grievous Sickness.</i>              | L.S. |
| 14. <i>Soon restored, tho' it comes Fiercely.</i>     | R.   |
| 15. <i>Easily escape Death.</i>                       | R.   |
| 16. <i>Great danger of Death, if he take the Air.</i> | Dan. |
| 17. <i>No Physick will prevail.</i>                   | D.   |
| 18. <i>A good day, easily Recovered.</i>              | R.   |
| 19. <i>A good day, easily Recovered.</i>              | R.   |
| 20. <i>A good day, easily Recovered.</i>              | R.   |
| 21. <i>Sickness Mortal and Incurable.</i>             | D.   |
| 22. <i>Long Sick, but escape after 3 Months.</i>      | L.S. |
| 23. <i>After few days he shall Dye.</i>               | D.   |
| 24. <i>Long time in Sickness.</i>                     | L.S. |
| 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. <i>Are all days of Recovery.</i>  | R.   |
| 30. <i>Hardly Escape with many Medicines.</i>         | Dan. |

Secrets to Judge of Life and Death in a Sick Body.

First, *Take a Marigold, and put into the Urine of the Sick, if it keeps open, they will Live, if it closes, they'll Die.*

Second, *Also it is said of some, that it may be known by speaking Two Words at the Bed side, viz. Ancora Pancorene, and if he hear it, it notes Life, if not, Death.*

#### *The Kings Evil.*

Take Barly Flower, Tar, Wax, and Oyl, of each a like quantity, mix all together, and Seeth it well, and put it into . . . , and stirring it well about, lay it upon the Sore Plaister wise.

#### *A rule to know the Kings Evil by.*

Take a ground Worm alive and lay it upon the place, and cover him with a Leaf, if it be the *Kings Evil*, the Worm will change. and turn into Earth, if not he will remain alive.

*How to make the Antidote Powder, called, The Orvietan  
of Rome, a Cordial.*

Angelica root, Serpent, Contrierva root, Calanga root, Dictamus root, Aristolochia root, Gentian root, Arris root, Casamus, Zedoary root, Acorns root, Agarick, Ginger root, *ana ʒi*. Perat, therum *ʒiv*. Trochisk *ʒii*. Vipers Flesh, Red Roses, Dictmnus leaves, Sarubucum Leaves, Saffron, *ana 40 gr*. Anniseeds, Parsly-seeds, Fennel seeds, Caraway-seeds, Cummin-seeds, Dasie-seeds, Cisilias-seeds, Cardamum, Cubeb, *ana 30 gr*. Cloves, Cinnamon, Gascoynes Powder, Nutmeg, white Pepper, Corlander, *ana 40 gr*. Lemniam earth, Storax, Calamit, Juniper Berries, Elicampane, *ana ʒi*. Curcuma Root *ʒiii*. Sagaveny, Opapanar, *ana ʒi*, beat all these fine to a Powder, and this is the true *Orvietane* Powder; And mix it with pure fine Honey, and it makes the true *Roman Orvietane*, which Expelleth Poyson out of the Body.

*To take away Pearls, Films from the Eyes.*

Take Honey, Juice of Cellandine, *ana ʒiv*. Aloes, Scammony, Sarcocol in fine Powder, *ana ʒiv*. Lapis Tutia prepared, mix them well together, and put it into the Eye every Night going to Bed, and every Morning before Rising.

*A Secret to Stanch Blood.*

Take the blood of healthful men and dry it in the Sun, and make it into powder.

Take a Toad and bind him with a little band, and hang it about the womans Neck that hath that infirmitie, and in few days she will be cur'd.<sup>4</sup>

*Against Wry Necks or Gouts.*

Take the stone of a Beaver, called *Castoreum*, white Pepper and Pursley of each alike, beat altogether and sift them, take a Spoonful of it and put in so much Honey, and two mouthfulls of

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 62. "For y<sup>e</sup> bleeding at y<sup>e</sup> nose : Probatum. Take a Toade and drie it in marche put y<sup>e</sup> same into some silke or sattene bagg and hange it about y<sup>e</sup> neck of y<sup>e</sup> party next y<sup>e</sup> skinne and by gods grace it will stanch presently:" G. Weddell, *Arcana Fairfaxiana Manuscripta*, p. 5 (circa 1620).

hot Water, and give it the patient to drink before Breakefast, and he shall be healed.

*For a Quartane Ague.*

Take *Asrabacca* one Dram, and give it the Patient one hour before the fit comes, in white wine, it Purges upwards and downwards.

Take a Flint stone, put it into the fire till its red hot, and there with warm your Ale, then drink it.

*Elixir Vitæ, or, Elixir of Life.*

Take of Rosemary, Lavender, Saffron, Castor, and of our Treacle, *ana*  $\text{ʒiv}$ . Rectified Spirit of Wine Tartarised,  $\text{℥xx}$ . digest all for three Months, Decant of the Tincture, to which add Clarified Honey,  $\text{ʒvi}$ . the Essence of Bawm and Celandine, *ana*  $\text{ʒiii}$ . Circulate all for a Month, and keep it for use.

*The Virtues of this Elixir are great in Curing and Preventing the Vertigo, Falling Sickness, Apoplexy, Palsie, Madness, Melancholly, Swounding, Asthma, and all Diseases of the Stomach, . . . Dose*  $\text{ʒi}$ . *or*  $\text{ʒi}$ . *in a convenient Vehicle.*

*Gascoins Powder.*

Which Secret he sold to the Bishop of *Worcester* for 300*l*. I will give it freely. Take the Toes of Sea-crabs boyled, beat them to Powder, which must be done the ☉ and ♃ being in Cancer  $\text{♊}$ ; of this Powder take  $\text{ʒi}$ . of the Magistery of Coral and Pearl *ana*  $\text{ʒii}$ . of the true Bezoar  $\text{ʒi}$ . make Rolls with the Jelly of Vipers Skins, or if thou wilt of the Flesh of the whole Vipers, which is as good, and being dried let them be made up again, and dried with the same Jelly, the often you do it, the better; the use of it is to beat it into Powder, and to give from  $\text{ʒi}$ . to  $\text{ʒii}$ . almost in any Disease, repeating it often.

*The Royal Styptick Water.*

Which stops Blood, also good for Watery eyes, Rheumatick Eyes, Inflammation of the Eyes, Pin or Web, and makes the Eye look Fair and Lovely. Take Colcothar, or Red Vitriol that remains in the Retort after the Spirit is drawn out; Burnt Allum, Sugar Candy, *ana*  $\text{ʒss}$ . . . . Rose Water, *ana*  $\text{ʒss}$ . Plantaine

Water,  $\text{ʒii}$ . Stir them altogether a good while in a Mortar, then power the mixture into a Viol, which when you use it sepearate by inclination; Note, when taken Inwardly  $\text{ʒss. or ʒi.}$  may be taken at any time in *Knot-grass Water*."

The pamphlet ends with an "Avertisement" that "*In Cam-amile-street at the Sarazens Head Inn near Bishops Gate, are Sold most Excellent and well aproved PILLS for Six Pence the Dose, which Cures*" innumerable diseases, and that "*Also, such as are desirous may be Resolved in all Lawful Questions depending on that Noble Art of Astrology, at the above mentioned place.*"

A. R. WRIGHT.

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I send you an extract from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* which will serve as an illustration to page 231 of the June number of *Folk-Lore*. I have verified the references to Dioscorides, Matthiolus, and Aldrovandus. My quotation is from the two-volume 8vo edition of 1813, but it holds good for any of the two-volume editions of the nineteenth century:

"Being in the country in the vacation time not many years since, at Lindly in Leicestershire, my fathers house, I first observed this amulet of a spider in a nut-shell lapped in silke, etc., so applied for an ague by my mother: whom although I knew to have excellent skill in chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, &c., and such experimentall medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help—yet, among all other experiments, this, methought, was most absurd and ridiculous: I could see no warrant for it. *Quid araneæ cum febre?* For what antipathy? till at length, rambling amongst authors (as often I do), I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Aldrovandus, *cap. de Araneâ, lib. de insectis*, I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience" (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Sec. 5. Mem. 1, Subs. 5 (vol. ii., p. 134, ed. 1813)).

W. ALDIS WRIGHT.



## TOTEMISM IN INDIA.

The following extract from W. Francis, *Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam District*, (Madras, 1907, vol. i., pp. 84 *et seq.*), seems worth recording. In the Agency Tracts of the Vizagapatam district in the Madras Presidency "the commonest totems are the tiger, cobra and tortoise, but the bear, iguana, dog, monkey, goat, bull, cow, lizard, parrot, peacock, and vulture also occur, and in addition certain plants such as the pumpkin and the *Bauhinia purpurea*, and a few inanimate objects like stone and the sun. The usual Uriya name for a totem is *boms*, which seems to be the same word as *vamsa*, a family. Members of the same totem may not intermarry, and children take their father's totem. Every totem is revered. Animal totems may on no account be killed or eaten. The very idea of such a possibility makes the totemist shudder, and he declares that so unspeakable an act would result in the entire destruction of his whole tribe. Totems must, indeed, be befriended where possible—a tortoise, for example, being put in the nearest water. If the totem attacks a man he may kill it in self-defence; but its dead body is then often given funeral rites almost as if it was the corpse of a man. When a man sees his totem he folds his hands across his breast and does reverence. Plant totems are not eaten, injured, or even touched. The sun is venerated by the people of its totem fasting when it does not appear; and stone by being excluded from all buildings and all service—stone mortars, for example, being taboo. The idea that members of a totemistic division are all one family is strong. If one of them dies, all the others are under pollution for three days and have to get their food from their wives' relations."

W. CROOKE.

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IN MEMORIAM: ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL  
(1832-1912).

To have written one worthy book is to have lived well. Such a book is *Carmina Gadelica*, put forth by Dr. Carmichael in 1900 as the fruit of a lifetime of labour and long sojournings among the people of the Western Isles, whose Gaelic hymns, incantations, "blessings," and charms are gathered up in two sumptuous volumes adorned page by page with fine initial letters copied by his wife from Celtic manuscripts. In an unusual sense the book is an expression of its author's soul and personality; for he himself embodied in a natural harmony the simple, sincere dignity, the quiet strength, and the delicate feeling for beauty which are found in the runes. No one who has ever been welcomed to his home by the gentle and dignified old man, clad always in his native kilt, or who has heard his kindly Highland greeting, will ever forget it. In memory of Dr. Carmichael's services to folklore we may recall here a few of the numerous customs and beliefs recorded in his notes and prefaces, or in the poems, which are not otherwise generally known.

*Baptism.*—A form of lay baptism, probably reminiscent of an ancient pagan rite, is gone through immediately after a birth. Three drops of water are placed on the child's forehead,—the first in the name of the Father (representing wisdom), the second of the Son (peace), and the third of the Spirit (purity),—and a temporary name is given for use until the Christian baptism eight days later. This lay baptism ensures the child's burial in consecrated ground, should it die, and also protects it from the fairies until its church baptism.

*New Moon.*—Old men and women in the islands of Barra recite a prayer to the "bright white moon of the seasons," and make a peculiar obeisance, as to a chief, when they first see the new moon.

*St. Bride's or Brigit's Day.*—In the Highlands and Islands this day seems to be connected with serpent worship, perhaps dating from the Norse period, as the serpent is called the daughter of Ivor. The serpent is then supposed to emerge from the hollow of the hills, and the following propitiatory hymn is sung:—

“To-day is the day of Bride,  
The serpent<sup>1</sup> shall come from the hole,  
I will not molest the serpent,  
Nor will the serpent molest me.”

Another version is:—

“The Feast Day of the Bride,  
The daughter of Ivor shall come from the knoll,  
I will not touch the daughter of Ivor,  
Nor shall she harm me.”

It is said that the serpent will not sting a descendant of Ivor who made *tabhar agus tuis* (offering and incense) to it, thus securing immunity from its sting for himself and his seed for ever. On this day peat from the hearth is put into a stocking and pounded upon the doorstep, while chanting the above, but the meaning of this custom has been lost.

*Death customs.*—Several of the “death blessings” refer to “the time of the balancing of the beam,” “the time of the bringing in the judgment,” indicating a belief in the weighing of the soul similar to that of Egypt. According to old Scottish custom a wax candle, gold coin, hammer, and pair of scales were buried with a corpse,—the candle to light *thar abhuinn dubh a bhais* (across the black river of death), the coin to pay *duais a asgair* (the services of the ferryman), the hammer *chon bualadh dorus nam flathas* (to knock at the door of heaven), and the scales *chon cothromachadh an anama* (to weigh the soul). Such hammers and scales have been found in graves.

*Circuiting the burial ground* (*Cuartachadh a chlaidh*) on St. Michael's Day is perhaps a relic of ancestor worship, and *dol deiseil a chlaidh* (going sunwise round the burial-ground) represents sun worship.

*Hogmanay lads* (vol. i., p. 149).—The *gilleann Callaig* carollers perambulate the town-land at night, one man being enveloped in a

<sup>1</sup> In other versions, “the Queen will come from the mound.”

hard bull hide. When they come to a house, they ascend the wall and run round sunwise, the man in the hide shaking the horns and hoofs, and the other men striking the hide with sticks and making a terrific din. After descending and reciting verses at the door, the party is treated to the best in the house. It is evident that the rite is heathen and ancient, although its symbolism is obscure.

*Consecration of the seed.*—Seed is prepared with much care at certain seasons of the year, seldom deviated from. Rye is threshed to allow *gaoth bhog nan Duldachd*, the soft wind of November and December, to winnow the seed; oats to allow *gaoth fhuar nam Faoilleach*, the cold winds of January and February, to winnow it; and bere in *gaoth gheur nam Mart*, the sharp winds of March and April. Three days before sowing the seed is sprinkled with clear cold water, in the name of Father, Son, and Spirit, the person sprinkling walking sunwise the meanwhile.

Such are a few of the results of personal observation noted by Dr. Carmichael, and in no other book than *Carmina Gadelica* do we realise so forcibly the linking together in folk-custom of pagan and Christian traditions in our own islands.

Dr. Carmichael contributed many papers to Scottish Gaelic and antiquarian societies, and published in his *Deirdre* a North British version of that exquisite story. He aided Dr. W. F. Skene substantially in the third volume of *Celtic Scotland* by a study of the native system of land tenure, and the methods of apportioning the stock and tilling the land. He wandered through the Western Isles with Campbell of Islay, and assisted in the collection of Highland tales. He was chieftain or president of various Gaelic societies, and his influence has been very great over the younger generation of Celtic students and writers. His own family carry on his work, and his spirit is still alive and active in his daughter (Mrs. Watson), editor of *The Celtic Review*.

It was Dr. Carmichael's intention to publish two more volumes of West Highland poems, for which he had collected material, but failing health prevented the completion of this task. We trust that this valuable material will not be laid aside unused.

ELEANOR HULL.

## REVIEWS.

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METHODE DER ETHNOLOGIE. Von F. GRAEBNER. (Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek. 1. Reihe: Ethnologische Bibliothek. 1.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1911. 8vo, pp. xviii + 192.

ETHNOLOGY is a science which has so many aspects that it has appealed to a large number of men of diverse interests and aptitudes, comparatively few of whom can be said to have been trained to observe, record, or generalise. The consequence has been that the data available for the student are of very unequal value, since the workers in the field have too frequently been biassed, their lack of training has caused them to overlook many essential facts, and too frequently there has been deliberate suppression of data. These blunders of omission and commission are often apparent when the writers endeavour to summarise their observations or to theorise thereon. Even the student at home has not always followed a rigorous scientific method, with the natural consequence that ethnology has not been able to take her rightful place among her sister sciences.

With a view to improving this state of affairs, Dr. F. Graebner has written a small book on the methods of ethnology which deserves to be studied by all investigators and writers on ethnology. He emphasises the close connection of ethnological to historical method; quite a different method is necessary to account for a special social organisation from that needed to examine the nature of radioactivity or the formation of chemical compounds. The main difference is that the appreciation of the individual facts prohibits a general application of induction, relegating to it a secondary function. Dr. Graebner deals with the criticism of

authorities and sources, and with that of direct evidence, including authenticity, statement of place and time, material, technique, form, and style. He makes pertinent remarks on the criticism of records. Once the value of the evidence is established it has to be interpreted, and he points out the numerous pitfalls that beset the path of the unwary, here, as everywhere, illustrating his statements by exposing the delinquencies of former writers,—though in doing so he sometimes overstates his case, and thereby creates a wrong impression. Interpretation is at present the best-cultivated department of ethnology, but along with it goes combination, which establishes a causal connection between individual phenomena and so elucidates origins. The surest basis of combination is critically-examined tradition or history, especially when there is chronological order, but this is not always available, and in that case great care must be exercised in framing hypotheses as to relative primitiveness. Graebner instances Father-right and Mother-right, and states that there is no reason why they should not be two different trends, the transitions being secondary combinations due to the contact of the two systems. He discusses the theories of ethnological evolution, and refers to the doctrine of elemental ideas which is based on the present psychical similarity of the diverse branches of mankind when acted upon by similar natural environment, leading to parallelism or convergence. The problem is to find a criterion of the different possible relations of similar phenomena to each other, and to discover the characters by which one can detect whether several parallel phenomena are ethnologically related or of independent origin. Graebner discusses these two points of view, and indicates that two main criteria are available to prove ethnological connections:—that of form, *i.e.* correspondence of qualities not inherent to the nature of the object, and that of quantitative correspondence. To secure objective and unprejudiced criteria is only a part of the work; next comes the application of them. There are no definite rules to be followed, it being largely a matter of self-criticism and sensitiveness; it is best to build on the sure foundation of a single area, advancing cautiously step by step. The reconstruction is largely effected by a sort of process of subtraction. Determine and subtract the latest and next latest cultural movements and

changes, and you get to older, more original, and often spatially larger predecessors and complexes. The starting point should always be the present cultural entity or one determinable by authorities, but you cannot tell whether fusion or interaction has taken place within this particular entity without studying its neighbouring or allied entities. A quarter of the work is taken up with an exposition of the principles involved in the discrimination of culture areas and culture strata, each stratum forming what he terms a culture complex. The application of these principles can be seen worked out in detail in Graebner's suggestive memoir, *Die Melanesische Bogenkultur und ihre Verwandten* (*Anthropos*, iv., 1909); many of his conclusions have been criticised, as is to be expected in a more or less pioneer research, but the aim he has in view will not be so much neglected in the future as it has been in the past. Folklorists will find many valuable suggestions of method in this book, and it can be strongly recommended to their notice.

A. C. HADDON.

CHRISTMAS IN RITUAL AND TRADITION CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN.

By CLEMENT A. MILES. T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. 8vo, pp. 400. 4 col. pl. + 17 ill.

MR. MILES had a happy thought when he decided to map out the field of Christmas rites and ceremonies with the aid of materials collected from all the odd corners of European literature. Those members of the Folk-Lore Society who have of late been directing their attention to the compilation of calendar customs will be able to appreciate the care and skill with which he has performed his task. A wider public likewise will find pleasure in the book. Its outer form is comely. The coloured plates and other illustrations are appropriate and well reproduced. Most important of all, the style of writing is not only lucid, but has charm and distinction; whilst good taste, such as is especially needed where old-world superstitions have to be disentangled from associated practices of live religion, is never for a moment absent. Here, however, it will be more to the purpose to note that, while due regard is had

to the requirements of the general reader, the serious student may also derive no little benefit from so excellent a piece of honest work.

The order of exposition pursued by Mr. Miles is so far one with the natural order of discovery that he leads us on from the nearer and better-known facts relating to the Christian festival to those remoter and obscurer usages of the pre-Christian past implied in a thousand odd and apparently functionless accompaniments of the Christian season. Perhaps the folklorist, in his eagerness to regale himself with his beloved 'survivals,' may be inclined to skip the previous course consisting of hymns and carols, church offices and decorations, nativity plays, and so forth. But this, as his wiser second thoughts will inform him, would be a very unscientific thing to do. The analogy so often drawn between a piece of antiquated custom and a fossil is quite beside the mark. The fossil is dead; but an existing custom of however venerable an aspect is invariably alive, in the sense that the folk somehow find it worth while to keep it up. Sound method, therefore, enjoins that we start from current values. The spirit of the present, especially under conditions of low, that is to say lowly, culture, is instinct, because continuous, with the spirit of the immemorial past; Christian and pagan, living faith and survival,—just like so many other such disjunctives to be met with in anthropology, logical and prelogical, animistic and preanimistic, or what not,—stand for abstractions, useful in their way, yet corresponding to no hard-and-fast division of things, but at most to a distinction of aspects which, though they may gain or lose in relative predominance, hold good to some extent of the march of human life from start to finish.

For instance, in the Island of Guernsey, the good people believe that at midnight on Christmas Eve the cattle kneel in their stalls; and, again, that in the wells the water turns into wine,—nay, into blood, the Sark folk solemnly declare. Those who have sought to pry into the mystery have had reason to regret their want of faith, having perished miserably.<sup>1</sup> Are these beliefs to be classed as survivals, as relics of paganism? I think that

<sup>1</sup> Miss E. F. Carey, *Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 34-5; cf. the present work, p. 234.



it is safer to regard and study them rather as the live, if secondary, products of a mentality which nevertheless contains so much hard-headedness that I should be sorry for an agnostic American dealer who thought he could get the better of a Guernsey farmer over the price of a cow.

A great deal is heard nowadays of the ethnological method which is going to explain, as it were, the stratigraphy of custom, the layers of belief that have been deposited in the mind of a people by successive visitations from without. Thus, in the Guernsey instance we could at least infer that the cycle of ideas that in Italy finds expression in the presepio had reached the island,—that, in short, the islanders were Christians who had heard the story of the babe born in Bethlehem. But if this line of interpretation is important, as enabling us to resolve questions of culture-contact, it can neither replace nor invalidate the use of a psychological method serving other and perhaps more ultimate purposes of anthropological science. From the strictly psychological point of view, the metaphor of mental stratigraphy is dangerous. Locke fell into bad mistakes when he compared the human mind to an "empty cabinet." Neither, then, can we with safety compare it to an empty cave, in which one set of inhabitants after another deposits its leavings. These contributions from various external sources are assimilated by the mind of the folk as an active, selective agency. Mr. Miles has perhaps done well not to concern himself too nicely with the endless problems relating to the ethnological *provenance* of the ceremonies that go to make the European Christmas what it is. Such matters call for special treatment; but this book, perhaps, was hardly the place. By putting together his very varied and picturesque materials in effective masses he affords the reader a concrete impression of what Christmas still means for the more naive of those who in general enjoy the same psychological climate with ourselves. By learning thus how the past is constantly assimilated by the present, we may learn not only to understand Christmas better, but perhaps also to appreciate it the more.

R. R. MARETT.

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DIE ERLOSER IN DER WIEGE. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Volkssagenforschung. Von FRIEDRICH RANKE. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911. 8vo, pp. vi + 78.

A GROUP of stories exists to this effect:—A soul is under a curse, and a wayfarer tries to set it free, but fails; the soul laments, crying that it can never be free until a certain tree shall grow up, and a cradle shall be made of it; then the deliverer shall lie in that cradle. Mr. Ranke traces this story to the Evangelium Nicodemi, from which it borrows two motives,—of Adam in limbo rejoicing over the Coming of Christ, and the prophecy of the tree of the Cross made to Adam at the point of death. Mr. Ranke draws the moral that (1) the wide diffusion of a tale does not prove its great antiquity, and that (2) it may have nothing to do originally with the district where it is best known. The study is a wholesome corrective to rash theorizing. But, even so, the "monkish legend" may have borrowed something from popular (heathen) tradition!

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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DEUTSCHES SAGENBUCH. Herausgegeben von Friedrich von der Leyen. Vierter Teil. DIE DEUTSCHEN VOLKSSAGEN. Von FRIEDRICH RANKE. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1910. 8vo, pp. xvii + 294.

WHATEVER may be the principle of classification in stories it always seems to be artificial. Here we have The Soul and Powers of the Living, The Soul of the Dead, Dwarfs, Goblins, and such like, Mysterious Animals, Giants and Robbers, Treasures and Bells, and the Devil,—an odd list perdie! Also the first section includes some tales of the soul issuing forth from the mouth as a mouse or whatnot, nightmares, the werwolf, and others. The stories are interspersed with paragraphs explaining the ideas that underlie the episodes. Mr. Ranke is euhemeristic. He says,—“In the marketplace of Remich could be seen for many years a white rabbit. Many a time the people, men and women, made a ring round it to catch it, but, when they grasped

it, it was a white stone'. . . . Here we have a saga of the most simple kind. In the tone of plain history it tells a fantastic narrative: but we see the original experience gleam through it. In the marketplace of Remich lay a white stone; the peasants come o' nights out of the bars and they are all drunk; they see the white glimmer, and it seems to move to and fro, now it is more to the right, now more to the left, according as they stagger to left or to right in their sottery; then they join hands and want to catch the rabbit, and, whenever one grasps it, he has the thick white stone in his hand." I doubt if all *sagen* can be explained on this principle.

The *sagen* here are selected from all parts of the German-speaking districts; historical *sagen* are omitted (coming in another section of the series), and nearly all these "come from the nineteenth or twentieth centuries," *i.e.*, I suppose, their scene is laid in those centuries. The style has sometimes been simplified, but the substance is left unchanged. A list of authorities is given at the end, and some notes on sources and parallels; but not all the sources are given. The stories are very short, perhaps a dozen lines each; too short to have much literary interest, and the book is not exactly a student's book either. But there is quite enough of each story for the student to use, if he has the authority given; or for the kind uncle to tell again to his nephews and nieces, if he has the literary skill.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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MYSTICISM AND MAGIC IN TURKEY. An Account of the Religious Doctrines, Monastic Organization, and Ecstatic Powers of Dervish Orders. By LUCY M. J. GARNETT. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1912. 8vo, pp. ix + 202. Ill.

THIS book contains a sketch of the history of the dervish orders, their present organization, and practices. It is written in a popular style, without exact references for the most part; but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy in the historical part, and for the present day Miss Garnett has firsthand knowledge. A few eccentricities in the writing of proper names might be corrected

(such as R. J. T. Browne for E. G. Browne, and Sir John Manderville). The student of religion will be glad to have an unbiassed account of the ideals of these orders. There is not much in the book that belongs to folklore, but we must except the few pages on the state of ecstasy in which the Rūfai dervishes wound themselves with hot irons or lick them without any sign of pain; the wounds are said to leave no trace after twenty-four hours, but we should have liked Miss Garnett to tell us if she has ever examined such wounds herself. Dervishes are also said to be able to transport themselves to a distance at will (p. 160). Nearly every page is adorned with a story or anecdote, many of them very interesting.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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AMONG CONGO CANNIBALS. Experiences, impressions and adventures during a thirty years' sojourn amongst the Boloki and other Congo tribes, with a description of their curious habits, customs, religion and laws. By JOHN H. WEEKS. Seeley, Service & Co., 1912. 8vo, pp. 352. Map + Ill.

THE author of this work is well known to members of the Folk-Lore Society, and indeed to everyone who has during the last fifteen or twenty years taken an interest in the affairs of the Congo. He was the first British missionary to call attention to the crimes of Leopold II. and his underlings, and had no inconsiderable share in rescuing the Congo natives from oppression comparable to those of Putumayo and Russia. His missionary life has extended for upwards of thirty years, nine of which were spent on the Lower Congo at San Salvador and Matadi, and the rest, after exploring the river and some of its tributaries for many miles, at Monsembe on the Upper Congo. The people among whom he found himself there were part of a congeries of tribes collectively known as Bangala. But this name has been recently applied to the inhabitants of so large an area that Mr. Weeks has now preferred to use the more specific term of Boloki to denote "the inhabitants of certain towns on the main river, on the

Mobangi River and the Libinza Lake," with whom this book is particularly concerned.

In part the book reproduces articles which have appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and which have been ever since their appearance highly appreciated by all students. This has involved some little repetition here and there. But nobody will begrudge it who is anxious to have a statement of the total results of the author's enquiries, as nearly as they can be placed before the reader of a volume intended not merely for the anthropologist, but also for a somewhat larger public. We should perhaps have been glad of more exact details on some points; and the hope may be indulged that his well-earned leisure will enable Mr. Weeks hereafter to supplement the information here given with the further facts stored in his notes and in his memory.

He writes of the native with sympathy, but without sentimentality. He gives him credit for his good qualities, both mental and moral, but does not hide his numerous deficiencies; and he insists, and rightly insists, that he must not be treated as an equal, because he is not the equal of the white man, and he knows it. To treat him therefore as an equal only leads to disaster. The training given by the missionaries cannot produce its full beneficial results all at once. As Mr. Weeks, in defending it, truly and wisely says,—“The civilization of England is the outcome of a thousand years' teaching and training, and you cannot expect us to attain the same results in a generation or two. It is, at least, unfair of those who boast of their “superiority” to criticize us for not accomplishing in a generation with “inferior” material what it has taken a score of generations to accomplish in their own case” (p. 178).

Mr. Weeks lived so long among the natives of the Lower Congo that it is natural he should in this book, dealing with the Boloki, frequently refer to them by way of comparison or contrast. An instructive instance is his treatment of fetishes, where he carefully distinguishes between the belief and practice as they exist among each of these peoples. The doctrine of fetish on the Lower Congo has been exhaustively examined by Dr. Pechuël-Loesche in his important work, *Volkskunde von Loango*, in which

he has pointed out, among other things, the quasi-personal character attributed to the fetish. This is emphasized by the image which usually forms part of the fetish-bundle, even where it is not the chief item, the case or framework of the whole. For all that, the fetish is not regarded as a strictly personal being. Mr. Weeks, though not referring to Dr. Pechuël-Loesche, agrees with him here, saying, "I do not think the native mind goes farther back than the *bundle*, which contains for him representations of all those qualities that he fears and admires, and whose combined forces overawe him. And should he go beyond that bundle, it is only to the animals—the lion, the leopard, etc., whom he fears; the eagle, the hawk, and the falcon whom he admires and wonders at for their flight through space; and to those plants and herbs whose mysterious powers he dreads" (p. 256). Among the Boloki, on the other hand, the personal element of the fetish is much less developed. An image is very rarely used, and, when it is used, is not regarded as an essential part of the bundle. "The fetish power is imparted to any article that comes conveniently to hand." Even the Boloki, however, pours sugar-cane wine over the fetish "to render it amenable to its owner's wishes, and it is threatened if it does not act quickly on its owner's behalf" (p. 254). The imputation of personality and consciousness to external objects seems inherent in mankind. It survives among ourselves in numerous expressions used every day. It gives force and colour to the highest flights of eloquence, and it is of the essence of our poetry. What restrains it in its application to the fetish is the knowledge that the fetish is a conglomerate of forces taken from all sorts of sources,—forces brought together by the medicine-man, thanks to his art, and welded into one. Thus there underlies it a feeling of the great impersonal and universally diffused power that is the basis of the crude religion of the Congo natives.

Fetishism as practised by all these natives is defined by Mr. Weeks as "those means employed by the Congo natives for influencing the various spirits by which they believe themselves to be surrounded, either to act on their own behalf by giving them good luck and good health, or to act against their enemies by sending them misfortune, sickness, or death" (p. 259). Their system of belief, we are told, has its basis in the fear of spirits;

"if there were no spirits to be circumvented there would be no need of medicine-men as middlemen, and no need of fetishes as mediums for getting into touch with the spirits." But what is meant here by spirits?

Let us take the Boloki first. Mr. Weeks says,—“The rivers and creeks are crowded with the spirits of their ancestors, and the forest and bush are also full of spirits, ever seeking to injure the living who are overtaken by night when travelling by road or canoe.” And elsewhere, speaking of the spirits of the dead,—“The land and water are full of these disembodied spirits, hence the timorous folk are afraid to travel by night.” It is clear that the ghosts of the dead are always about, and that they are naturally hostile to the living: therefore they must be conciliated, or overpowered and compelled to some measure of amity with the survivors. But a somewhat careful search through the elaborate analysis here given of the various kinds of spirits that plague the Boloki does not enable me to discover definitely that there are any elemental spirits known to them. It is true we are told of water-spirits (*mingoli*; sing. *mongoli*). *Mongoli* however is defined as “a disembodied soul, a spirit, a ghost of the bush, forest, and water that sends evil and good upon the living.” Then there are disease-spirits. “Each sickness has its own spirit (or *bwete*; pl. *mete*)”; and the native name for a disease is also the name for the spirit responsible for sending it. “They cannot tell us,” writes Mr Weeks, “from whence these spirits emanate.” There are also the spirits of unborn children, called *bingbongbo*; the spirit for giving wealth called *efo*; the spirit that gives bodily strength, called *embanda*. Lastly, “the word *jando* stands for the peculiar characteristics of the animal to which it is prefixed, *i.e.* a man successful in fishing is said to have the peculiarities of a crocodile, for this creature is regarded as being quick in catching fish; and a person swift and cunning in fight and flight has the qualities of a leopard.” An alternative explanation given of *jando* immediately afterwards is *spirit*. “These qualities or *spirits* are not gained by eating either of these creatures, but are procured, for a few, from the witch-doctor by some occult intercourse with the crocodile and leopard. It is also affirmed by the natives that a person can become so.

possessed by the spirit (*jando*) of a crocodile or a leopard that he will let himself loose occasionally on his neighbours, and thus preying in spirit on them many will die" (p. 273). The word *spirit*, however, is here used in a very loose way, and evidently expresses what in other tongues is called the *mana* or rather the *orenda* of the creature. Probably the same must in ultimate analysis be understood of *efo*, the spirit of wealth, and *embanda*, that of strength. On the whole it looks as if the Boloki had no definite concept of any other than human spirits, either waiting to be born, embodied in or attached to living persons (*elimo* or *elilingi*), or disembodied ghosts, though beside these definite concepts there may be a vague tendency to erect disease-spirits, bush-spirits, and so on into separate classes of spirits not essentially human. But perhaps Mr. Weeks can more fully enlighten the Folk-Lore Society on this point.

With regard to the people of Loango, Dr. Pechuël-Loesche could not discover any elemental spirits, or indeed any spirits other than human, embodied or disembodied. Everything else is merely the interaction of impersonal forces pervading the world. Even when these forces are focussed in a fetish, they are only quasi-personal, and that notwithstanding the fetish is often found in the form of an image, contrary to the Boloki practice.

The discussion of fetish and of spirits not only illustrates Mr. Weeks' careful treatment of his subject and his wide knowledge of native customs and modes of thought: it is also of special interest in the search for the beginnings of religion. But on questions less fraught with controversy he writes with equal authority. Hardly any part of native life escapes his observation. With the *technique* of fishing he is as familiar as with that of witchcraft. He knows the details of cat's cradle as fully as those of the polygamist's *ménage*. He states that the same desire for children on the part of the women is not found among the Boloki as among the women of the Lower Congo; and he suggests that "this may be accounted for by the fact that in the Lower Congo the law of mother-right is in full force, and consequently all the children belong to the mother and her family; while on the Upper Congo father-right is the general custom, and the children belonging to



the father, the mother has no particular interest in them" (p. 129). It is an interesting suggestion, and one that would be worth keeping in mind for the investigation of cases elsewhere. Another acute observation is that "the word for sorrow is *nkele*, which really means anger, indignation; and the idea is that they are angry that their relative has been done to death by the witch." No word but this was found for grief or sorrow at the death of any one,—“a very suggestive side-light on the native view of death.”

But enough has been said to show that the book is a valuable account of native life by one who has sojourned among the Congo people for many years, and learned to know them and their ways and modes of thought. Most of the photographs and sketches which adorn it are excellent, though the map might have been improved.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE LEGEND OF THE BODY AND THE SOUL. By LOUISE DUDLEY. (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Vol. VIII.). Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College, 1911. 8vo, pp. xi + 179.

IN the present volume of the Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Miss Dudley has made a very useful collection of the material bearing upon this question of the Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and the Soul. As her sources are naturally the old theological and religious treatises, the monograph will be mainly useful for comparison with the popular beliefs. I refer, as examples, to two of these. The first, in connection with the soul's unwillingness to separate from the body (chap. ii.), of which the Palestine story of the death of Moses affords an interesting illustration. (Cf. my article *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, vol. xxxii., "Das Nebi Musa Fest"). The other is as to the angels by whom souls are removed (chap. iii.), where again I would instance a Palestinian belief that the angel of death assumes a hideous aspect when he comes to take possession of an evil soul. His teeth are said to reach down to his feet.

H. H. SPOER.

THE LIFE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN TRIBE. By HENRI A. JUNOD.  
Vol. I. The Social Life. Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères, 1912.  
(Macmillan.) 8vo, pp. 500. Ill.

SOME fourteen years ago M. Junod, a Swiss Protestant missionary, published an account of the Baronga of Delagoa Bay, reviewed in these pages (Vol. X., p. 225). Up to that time no study so careful and detailed of the life, the institutions, the beliefs, and the practices of a Bantu people had issued from the press of any country. But the author was not satisfied. There were points on which he was conscious that his information was defective; there were other points on which he came to think he had misinterpreted the evidence. Meanwhile his sphere of missionary activity had enlarged and extended to other branches of the same people, embracing large districts in the Transvaal as well as in Portuguese territory. Impressed with the vast importance of an accurate understanding of the natives alike from a practical and from a scientific point of view, he set himself to further enquiries. Some of the fruits of those enquiries he has already given to the world in the pages of the *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, in communications to the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, and elsewhere. The volume now published is the first part of a new work intended to give a connected, and so far as possible a complete, account of his researches. Realizing that "the public interested in South African affairs is essentially an English-speaking public," and a great portion of the Thonga tribe being settled in British territory, he has adopted the bold expedient of writing in what to him is a foreign tongue. For this British readers will be grateful to him and to Mr. G. D. Fearon, who kindly revised the English; and they will heartily congratulate him on his success, for the work betrays few traces of foreign idiom, and the instances in which any ambiguity or difficulty in seizing the author's meaning are discoverable are rare indeed. He has dedicated the book to the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, who was the first to awaken in him a desire to undertake a scientific study of the primitive life of the native,—in fact, to make him an anthropologist,—not the least of the many services rendered by that eminent man to the causes of human knowledge and practical politics in its most liberal sense.

The dedication is at the same time an introduction. It contains an exposition of the author's attitude to science and to the native Bantu. "To be truly scientific," he says, such a description as he here attempts "must be limited to one well defined tribe. I go even further: all the data must be localized; in the tribe itself there are different clans; customs vary from one to another. It is of the greatest importance that all the facts be classed geographically. . . . The essential Kafir will not be known till a scientific and thorough study of all the tribes has been completed." He insists on the value of this study for the purposes of government and of Christian missions. "To govern savages, you must study them thoroughly in order both to recognise the wrong conceptions against which you have to contend and to avoid hurting their feelings unnecessarily. This is imperative if you wish to win their confidence and maintain a friendly understanding between them and the alien European Government. How many native wars might have been avoided if the Native Commissioner had had a better knowledge of Bantu ethnography, and, on the other hand, how much good has been done by those who have taken the trouble to study the Natives with sympathy in order to be just to them! And this is equally true of Missionaries,"—which he illustrates by reference to the native taboos, denouncing the conception of former times when heathenism was considered a creation of the devil through and through. This is the doctrine preached for years by the Folk-Lore Society and by all anthropologists. It is the only rational doctrine, and the pity is that it has been so slow in making its way into the crass official mind and dispersing the prejudices of Christian teachers. Happily times are changing. The work before us is a signal proof of the advent of a better state of things. It ought materially to help the progress of true methods in science, in administration, and in Christian missions.

The name Thonga is of Zulu origin, probably the Zulu form of Ronga (East), the name by which the clans around Lourenço Marquez used to call themselves as being the eastern division of the tribe. It is not adopted by the people themselves, who have no word to express their collective unity. Under the name of Shangaans the Thonga of the northern clans are well known in

the Transvaal. There are also other names, none of which are, however, applicable to the whole people. Thonga, therefore, is a convenient term, which can hardly fail to find acceptance among anthropologists. The Ba-Thonga are called by M. Junod a tribe. They comprise a number of subdivisions, for which he uses the words *clan* and *group*. *Clan*, however, is not used strictly in the sense lately current in anthropological words of a kin or *gens*. It applies to all who "bear the name of the old chief, who is more or less considered as being the ancestor of them all." A *group* consists of those clans which occupy the same tract of country and speak the same dialect of the common tongue. These various groups have no political unity. They did not necessarily enter the country at the same time or by the same road. They are simply united by the possession of a common language (though broken up into dialects), and to a great extent of common traditions. The tribe thus roughly corresponds to what in another country and a different social condition Messrs. Spencer and Gillen call a nation, and the group to what they call a tribe. An excellent little map shows the distribution of the groups and (as far as they can be defined) of the clans.

In this first volume the life of the individual, of the family and village, and of the nation (if so loose an organization can be said to have a national life), is minutely described. The agricultural and industrial life, the arts and traditions, the religion, and magical beliefs and practices are reserved for the second volume. It is of course impossible to draw an accurate line of this kind. Consequently many subjects are unavoidably anticipated, though their full exposition is deferred. Thus, in connection with birth, marriage, death, the installation and position of the chief, the rites preliminary and subsequent to war, and those of building and removal of a village, we have many references to the cult of the dead and to witchcraft which await more complete treatment hereafter.

Among the many subjects dealt with here may be mentioned the minute analysis of the custom of *lobolo*, the payment of a bride-price, its origin, its various steps, and its social and moral effects. As a missionary M. Junod has a special interest in this matter. For anthropological purposes we need only refer to one

conclusion to which he has come, and which was foreshadowed in his previous volume on the Baronga. According to his researches the taboo between the relations-in-law is entirely caused by this custom. It is not due to any fear of incest, to any remnant of a practice of wife-capture, or to any other of the causes variously conjectured by students of primitive institutions, but simply and solely to the irritation arising from the non-payment of the bride-price or from the continual dread of divorce and consequent repayment. This is a conclusion M. Junod has thought out and buttressed with reasons requiring respectful consideration. In its favour is (among others) the important fact that the person between whom and the husband is the most stringent taboo of all is the wife's brother's wife, whose bride-price has been paid by means of the oxen given by the husband for his own wife. Next to her, however, and indeed more important than she among the northern clans, is the wife's mother; and for their stringent taboo between her and her son-in-law M. Junod's theory does not seem to account. It is possible that the *lobolo* paid by the son-in-law may have been applied in liquidation of the arrears of his father-in-law's debt for the bride's mother. This, no doubt, happens sometimes, but will it apply in the majority of cases? It is curious also that the taboo between a man and his wife's father (to whom, in the first instance, the *lobolo* is due) is so much less and ceases so soon. There is another point in favour of the explanation that the taboo is due to fear of incest, namely, that the daughters of the wife's brother's wife are potential wives for the husband who has paid or owes the *lobolo*.<sup>1</sup> M. Junod himself seems to have a lingering suspicion that here, after all, may be the true reason. "Perhaps," he says, "at the very bottom of the Thonga soul there exists the strong feeling that it is altogether bad to marry a woman and her daughter. I fear my mother-in-law because I married her daughter. I fear my great *mukonwana* [the wife's brother's wife] because her daughters are my potential wives." It may be added, (though it is by no means a convincing argument), that this is the reason alleged by the natives

<sup>1</sup> If it be desired that a man and his wife's brother's wife shall intermarry, the taboo-relationship between them can, however, be "killed" by a special ceremony.

themselves. The whole subject of the taboo of relations-in-law requires very careful reconsideration.

It is worthy of notice that the Thonga, like the Bushongo of the Congo region, have no custom of vendetta. African peoples have developed a judicial system, admirable in its way, and well adapted for the preservation of order. They therefore do not need for the punishment of murder and other serious crime the more archaic practice of revenge. Homicide by accident is usually arranged even without the interference of the Court. In case of intentional homicide the law is invoked to assess the damages payable by the family of the man-slayer, and he himself is regarded with scorn by the whole community, and in addition is required to undergo rites of purification,—not, like returning warriors, with boasting and honour, but with the contempt of his fellows.

The death customs of the Thonga are complicated and replete with instruction on savage ideas. So far as they relate to the mourning and purificatory rites of widows, they have been expounded in detail in a paper read by M. Junod before the South African Association for the Advancement of Science and published in the Report for the year 1909. The particulars are not very savoury, but they are important. Since the Report in question is not accessible to all students, I regret that the author has not incorporated his paper on the subject here, but contented himself with a reference to it. He, however, gives an outline of the rites, and sufficiently indicates their general purport. The death pollution extends more or less over the whole village. The ceremonies attending the resumption of normal relations indicate a similar direction of thought to those of the purification of widows, but are less elaborate. M. Junod goes beyond the evidence when he states that the funeral rites clearly show the intuition that "Man is immortal, and becomes a god through death." Whether the deceased becomes "a god" depends on the definition of that term,—one of the most difficult to define in the whole range of anthropology. But there is no proof, so far as I am aware, that the life after death is regarded by any Bantu people as immortal. Both the *itongo* and the *idhlozi* (to give them their Zulu terminology) continue, and continue indefinitely.

But that is not the same thing with immortality. Have the Thonga ever really envisaged the question of immortality? If they have, they differ from other peoples in the same degree of culture.

The volume concludes with a thoughtful and valuable discussion on the results of the Clash of Cultures and the outlook for the future. The author's natural preoccupation as a missionary with the future of his people is indeed obvious on many a page of the work. Without committing oneself to all the details of opinion and suggestion he puts before the reader, they may be heartily commended for their sanity, sympathy, and wisdom to the attention of all who are interested as students of anthropology or responsible in any degree for the welfare of the Bantu and European communities of South Africa. For good or ill both communities are bound up together, and mistakes made in dealing with,—still more, wrongs inflicted on,—the native population will in the long run bear fruit in evil consequences to the white man.

M. Junod has fulfilled the first part of his task with judgment and skill; and his book will be indispensable to every one who really wishes to understand the Bantu race and its problems. I should like to make one request, namely, that he will append to the second volume a glossary of the native terms used. It would be of very great assistance to every one who has occasion to consult the work. Many of the illustrations are very good. Some of the photographs are dainty; but others are unfortunately too small to be of real service.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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LEGENDS OF MA-UI—A DEMI GOD OF POLYNESIA AND OF HIS MOTHER HINA. By W. D. WESTERVELT. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1910. Large 8vo, pp. x + 182. Ill.

MAUI is certainly one of the most interesting of the semi-divine culture-heroes in the generations of the gods, and it was a happy thought to collect together, from the numerous volumes and

"Transactions" in which they are told, the tales about him by the islanders scattered over thousands of miles from New Zealand to Hawaii. The general reader may learn here from a series of agreeable narrations how Maui cheated his brethren, lifted the sky, obtained fire for mankind, fished up islands, snared the sun with the ropes still seen as long straight beams amongst the clouds of morning and afternoon, and was finally slain, in the quest for immortal life, by the death goddess, wakened by the inopportune laughter of the water wagtail.

The group of tales about Hina,—the Woman in the Moon of Polynesia and the mother (or grandmother) of Maui,—has also attractions peculiar to itself, and the photographic illustrations of places mentioned in the Hawaiian versions of the lives of Hina and Maui are pleasing.

But unfortunately the collection is by way of republication of popular magazine articles, and is, in most cases, without definite references to authorities. This is more the pity as some of the sources,—such as Queen Liliuokalani's translations, and a Hawaiian annual (pp. 119-27) giving the forms localised in the island of Oahu,—are not readily accessible. If the reader is acquainted with the literature on the subject, casual references to Gill, Fornander, Ellis, Turner, White, and Sir George Grey, (who is misnamed Gray in the index and in several places in the text,) will tell him sometimes, but by no means always, the volume, though never the pages, to be consulted for exact accounts. Instead of serving in this way as a mere reminder of material to be sought elsewhere, the present book might have been made a much more useful one by the addition of full references, or at least of a bibliography as complete as possible, and of a good index. The present index is unusually bad and incomplete.

A. R. WRIGHT.



THE MAFULU MOUNTAIN PEOPLE OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA. By ROBT. W. WILLIAMSON. With Intro. by Dr. A. C. HADDON. Macmillan & Co., 1912. 8vo, pp. xxiii + 364. Map; 91 pl., 10 figs. in text.

PAPUA OR BRITISH NEW GUINEA. By J. H. P. MURRAY. With Intro. by Sir WILLIAM MACGREGOR. T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. 8vo, pp. 338. Map; 38 ill.

MR. WILLIAMSON'S book on the Mafulu ranks among those valuable ethnological monographs the writers of which, in devoting themselves to the description of a single people, follow the often-quoted modern watchword "an intensive study of a limited area." We welcome this work so much the more, as hardly anything has been published before of the natives it deals with,—one of the tribes inhabiting the mountainous hinterland of the Mekeo district on the eastern side of the Papuan gulf.

In his Introduction Dr. Haddon tells us of the circumstances under which Mr. Williamson planned and carried out his expedition, and the hardships he had to undergo, being unwell during the whole period of his stay in New Guinea owing to climatic and other conditions. We cannot but join in Dr. Haddon's word of congratulation that in spite of these difficulties Mr. Williamson has been able to accomplish so large and thorough a piece of work. We do not know how long the author stayed in the country, and whether he was able to use the native language in his enquiries; more than once Mr. Williamson himself modestly expresses his regret that he cannot give a more detailed account of some of the subjects. But what we must appreciate is the great care with which he has made his researches as complete as possible, and also his true scientific conscientiousness in pointing out all matters in which any uncertainty might prevail.

It is perhaps the material culture of the Mafulu which has been most systematically and thoroughly studied in the book. But other chapters also offer a large amount of interesting and new information, and on the whole the Mafulu represent a great number of peculiar beliefs and customs. Mr. Williamson's field of research links up with that covered by Dr. Seligmann in his important work *The Melanesians of New Guinea*, and will in other

respects also furnish valuable material for the student of comparative ethnology. Perhaps the most important conclusion at which Mr. Williamson himself arrives is that the Mafulu people may be regarded as having a negrito ancestry, and that a Papuan and Melanesian infusion has occurred subsequently, an opinion in which he is supported by Dr. Keith and Dr. Haddon.

Mr. S. H. Hay, in five appendices to the book, has worked out the linguistic material brought home by Mr. Williamson.

The above-mentioned work by Mr. J. H. P. Murray, the present Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Judicial Officer of Papua, shows that its writer in his sympathetic interest in that wonderful land and its little-known inhabitants is a worthy follower of his distinguished predecessor, Sir William Macgregor. Mr. Murray's book gives a survey of various aspects of British New Guinea as a whole, so far as the land is known, and in the various chapters is concentrated a most useful account of the geography, history, native population, administration of justice, exploration, and development of the country. In his Introduction Sir William Macgregor adds some interesting data bearing on the history of Papua.

Mr. Murray's point of view in writing his book is that of the enlightened and sympathetic administrator. But, in spite of his own modesty in saying that he does not know anything about ethnology, his book also contains material of great value to the student of that science. This does not only apply to the chapters on the native population, but to many of the others as well, in which the narrative is illustrated with anecdotes exemplifying the curious ideas of the natives and at the same time rendering the book itself entertaining. One cannot but be impressed by the carefulness of the author as an observer, and his anxiety not to express any opinion which might prove to be wrong. He does not even unconditionally contradict the common Papuan legend of the existence of tailed men who always live "just over the next range of mountains":—"There are perhaps," he says, "no tailed men in New Guinea, but it must be admitted that there are at any rate men of a very lively imagination."

In a book such as that before us we cannot expect to find a very detailed or complete description of the natives, but the author's observations are always interesting and to the point.

There is very little I would like to say as to the statements regarding those tribes with which I am acquainted. The polished stones found in Kiwai, of which Mr. Murray has obtained no information among the natives, are axes or adzes brought in former times from the islands in Torres Straits in exchange for canoes. They were fastened to wooden handles, and could be used either as axes for cutting wood or, by twisting the stone in the handle, as adzes for hollowing out a canoe. Mr. Murray says that even in the old days there was apparently no ceremonial connected with the drinking of *gamada* (*Piper methysticum*, the *kava* of the South Sea) among the tribes behind Mawata. This holds good as to the drinking of *gamada* (or *gamoda*) on ordinary occasions. But the use of the beverage is in addition intimately connected with some of the ceremonies of the natives, particularly those referring to their agriculture. Thus they sprinkle *gamoda* in the direction of their gardens when invoking certain mythical beings to help them in their work, and they think it absolutely necessary for securing success in that respect. That is one reason why they yield so reluctantly to the inducements of the Government and Mission who want them to give up the use of *gamoda*; as one native put it:—"We fright (fear) Jesus Christ, one thing we fright our *kaikai* (food) too."

Sir William Macgregor, in his Introduction, says that Mr. Murray "has had opportunities of seeing into the heart of things in New Guinea in a way that no previous writer on that country could ever lay claim to," and it is refreshing to read a book dealing with ethnology, the writer of which, in spite of his vast information, contents himself with bringing forward and explaining facts without entering upon more or less premature theories as to the ultimate ethnical questions connected with the tribes he is describing.

G. LANDTMAN.

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